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CONTENTS.

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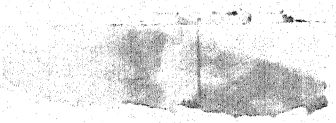

1824-1853 : ROMAN CATHOLIC AND AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSION SCHOOLS.*

This period may be called the first period of opportunity for unhampered work in evangelising. The First Burmese War (1824-26) gave to the East India Company the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim and within these British possessions Christian missionaries were free to carry on their work undisturbed, as they had never been before, so long as they did not act to the prejudice of the Government, for instance, by taking steps " calculated to lead the parents of the boys to believe that British Government entertains any intention of interfering with their religion " [1]. As a rule, in spite of the Company's general policy as regards missionaries, encouragement and substantial help in money and kind were given to Christian missionaries in Burma by the first civil officers partly because their work was essentially only another working out of a general principle they believed in, that the Burmese, a young race and debonair with the virtues and often laughable and loveable faults of childhood was at last going to be given a schooling for its benefit ;[2] and partly because the missionaries gave valuable help with information, advice, and mediation during the war and after. Such services were not forgotten when the rule was mainly personal and not yet grown altogether bureaucratic. Kindness and goodwill trickled continuously from above and much that was against the Government's policy was allowed.[3] The benefits, however, were gathered almost exclusively by the American Baptists during this period because the Roman Catholics were late by about a decade in setting to work in the new fields of missionary labour opened up by British occupation of Arakan and Tenasserim.

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*Being in continuation of " The Beginnings of Christian Missionary Education in Burma, 1600-1824 ", Vol. XX, Part I, pp. 59-75—Ed.

1. One of the conditions of the first recorded Government grant to a missionary in aid of a school open to the public. Letter No. 93. Year 1828. Tavoy. Maingy, A.D., Civil Commissioner of Tenasserim to Boardman, (Rev.) G. D., American Baptist Mission in " Selected Correspondence of letters issued and received in the Office of the Commissioner of Tenasserim Division for Years 1825-1843 ". Government Printing Press, Rangoon, 1916, page 74.

2. See " A People at School " Hall, H. Fielding, for the development of this theme. London, 1913.

3. One American Baptist Missionary for example, received grants for a school which was openly evangelical in spite of the condition that it was to be non-religious : page 78 " Selected Correspondence . . ." and Forrester, Fanny: " Memoir of Mrs. Sarah Boardman Judson ", Boston, 1855, page 115, where the authoress comments on Mrs. Sarah Boardman's " quiet unassuming manner and unostentatious way of conducting her schools for evangelical purposes contrary to the Company's policy of neutrality as regards religion in schools."

On the cessation of hostilities in 1826, the Baptists were ready to begin work at once in Tenasserim ; first at Amhurst, and later, with the failure of the town to become the proposed capital, at Moulmein ; while the Roman Catholic Mission at the time was moribund. There were only two Roman Catholic missionaries after the war, and no recruits arrived till 1830. The two were necessarily confined to their ministrial work in connection with their respective churches in Rangoon and Monhla and thus had no chance of availing themselves of the golden opportunity for open conversion work among the people in British territory, especially in Moulmein which was rapidly growing in population. It may also be that the reason why they did not trouble about Moulmein was partly because it was in the Vicariate of Siam under the Mission Etrangères until 1832. From a glance at the table below it will be seen that the mission did not increase in man power till 1842 when the first group of Oblates arrived. It may also be noted that the figures remain steadily at nearly four times those of the previous period (*i.e.* from 1760-1824). The increase in numbers permitted, of course, an extension of the scope of their work and it is therefore, not surprising to find that behind the more impressive work of the American Missionaries there was a gradual consolidation of the Roman Catholic Mission from 1824 onwards by the Oblates of Turin [1].

TABLE 11.

Year	*No. of Missionaries.*	*Particulars.*
1824	1	Priests of the Propaganda take charge.
1830	4	
1832	2	
1839	3	
1840	5	Oblates ....
1842	18	
1843	16	
1844	15	
1845	16	
1846	18	
1847	16	Plus six Nuns.
1848	19	
1849	18	
1852	17	
1854	19	
1856	25	Mission Etrangères

1. The Barnabite Fathers gave back the care of the Burma Mission to the Propaganda in 1829, having been unable to meet its needs adequately for the preceding thirty years. Before it could find another society to take over the mission, the Propaganda sent three of its own priests in 1830 who carried on the work till the Oblates of Turin were assigned to the work in 1840, the first big group of thirteen missionaries reaching Burma in 1842.

ROMAN CATHOLIC AND AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSION SCHOOLS, 1824-1853.

A.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION SCHOOLS 1824-53

To describe the work of the Roman Catholics first, there was no startling advance either in mission work or education from 1824-1842. No doubt the few Vernacular schools in Upper Burma referred to (in a previous article), existed, if perhaps precariously for lack at times of adequate supervision, during the whole of the period 1824-1853. But it was rather in Lower Burma in the last ten years of the period, from 1843-53 that we see some definite advance in the educational work of the Roman Catholics. From about 1841-1842, there began a gradual shifting of their centre of activities from Upper Burma to Lower Burma to judge from a comparison of the number of missionaries in the respective portions of the mission field, and what is more significant, from the general direction of transfers. What seems to have happened was a division of the mission's activities. The work of the Upper Burma group remained parochial while in Lower Burma there developed from 1840 onwards a real and effective proselytising side to their activities for the first time through the discovery of the Karen as a people most amenable to evangelical persuasion and argument [1].

Their headquarters or "stations" during the period were the bayingyi villages and the Capital (Amarapura) in Upper Burma ; and Moulmein, Bassein, Myaungmya and Rangoon in Lower Burma.

In Upper Burma, besides the Vernacular schools, there were no new types of schools established successfully. Bishop Ceretti (in Burma from 1842-1847), a man who wished to do more than others in education, however, tried to establish a few schools of a superior standard. He established, for instance in 1842, a school at Monhla, the principal bayingyi village, " in which besides the Burmese, the Latin and the Italian languages were taught. Many children belonging to Christian Burmese and Mussulman families resorted to the school in the beginning, but a few months afterwards the boys to the number of nearly seventy left the institution and never returned." [2]. The experiment is of interest as the first Roman Catholic Mission School which attempted a higher form of education without being merely a school for catechists and catechumens.

Although there was no progress in Upper Burma, there was started during this period in Lower Burma two forms of Mission education in

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1. Father Domingo Tarolly discovered the Bassein Karens (mainly Sgau and Pwo) in 1840. The first stations were Bassein and Myaungmya.

2. Bigandet : *Ibid*, page 34. Ceretti tried to establish other schools at Nabet and Mayangon (a suburb of Moulmein) but neither attempt went far. His lack of Burmese was a great handicap and that, no doubt, prevented him from knowing his pupils.

which the Roman Catholics still take an important share, namely "European" education and the education of the Karens. The first began in Moulmein because it was the chief resort of Europeans and other foreigners at the time, being then the Government's headquarters for Tenasserim; the second in Burmese territory, in Bassein and Myaungmya districts, where the Delta Karens reside.

Education of "Europeans"

Moulmein had grown in spite of Civil Commissioner Crawfurd's intention that Kyaikami, officially renamed Amhurst, should thrive as the capital of Tenasserim[1] and there Father Delprino and his fellow workers ministered to the Catholic soldiers of the garrison stationed there and to the growing commuuity of bayingyis and other Catholics, European and Indian who began to settle there for purposes of trade or with the hope opportunity which a growing town offers. The children of these people, apart from the soldiers,whose children probably went to the usual garrison school, had to be educated besides a considerable number of "orphans." So in 1840, Delprino built an orphanage and a paying school for girls which became an efficient and famous European girls' school later as St. Joseph's Convent. Both orphans and paying pupils were admitted[2]. It was placed in 1847 under the charge of six sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition who were said to have improved the teaching considerably. In the same mission enclosure a boys' school was built about the same time which later became more efficient (as St. Patrick's Boys' School) after the Christian Teaching Brothers took charge of it in 1859[3]. It was probably a single teacher school, but no other details, except that it was "well attended and of consideraele eductional value" are given. No doubt it was on lines similar to the girls' school and admitted orphans and paying pupils. The books for both these schools were printed at the mission press under the supervision of the Mission's printer, Father Bartolli.

Education of the Karens.

A beginning in Karen education was made by the Roman Catholics in 1840 in the Bassein and Myanaung Districts, in Burmese territory, that is, ten years after the American Baptists had begun work with the fringe of the race among the settlers in Tenasserim. But what the Roman Catholics lost in time was to a great extent compensated by the advantage gained of being able to reach the main body of the Karen population

1. Both were little villages before the British occupation, and Moulmein grew at the expense of Amhurst at the time mainly because the garrison was there and from which the military commander in chief refused to move to Amhurst.

1. Bigandet: *Ibid*, p. 40.

2. Luce: *Ibid*, p. 39.

in their natural habitat at a time when their rivals had to content themselves with evangelising the same people from across the border, at Sandoway in British territory. The Governor of Bassein, no doubt influenced by Joseph, the Armenian Raywun (Collector of Sea Customs, an important post) gave full permission to Tarolly and his fellow workers to convert the Karens to their religion. Joseph himself "procured for the priest a good piece of ground in a very quiet and yet central position. He built on the spot two wooden buildings, connected one with the other as is usual with the Burmese Kyaungs or Monasteries, one for the priest's residence and another for divine service. A small school was kept up in the house of the worthy missionary" [1]. Such was the beginning of the Roman Catholic mission work among the Karen people which is still carried on successfully when their work among the Burmese has been "virtually abandoned" [2]. The small school referred to was no doubt a Karen Vernacular Mission school for Catchumens and the children of converts, the common type of school arrived at by missionaries of every denomination in educating the Karen people. The pupils boarded and lodged with the missionary in the mission house as the several groups of Christian houses were often very distant from the Church and the other mission buildings [3]. The education given was of a very personal and domestic character [4]. The boys were the missionary's "to do as he liked with" [5] and in most cases were adopted, and by constant companionship with the missionary these boys learnt a practical form of Christianity. As to whether anything else was taught it is impossible to say; but it is probable that everything that was taught was taught orally during this early period when there were as yet no books in the Vernacular in the Roman Catholic Mission.[6]

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1. Bigandet: *Ibid.* p. 97.

2. Purser, (Rev.) W. C. B., "Christian Missions in Burma"; 1911.

3. Bigandet, p. 95. The Karens seemed to have lived in villages smaller in size than those at present, and mitigated at some distance from each other in remote parts away from the rivers (the highways of Burma) during the 18th and early 19th centuries. (San Germano; Jardine Edition, p. 44 "The Carian (are) a good and peaceable people who live dispersed through the forests of Pegu, in small villages consisting of four or five houses." Also Snodgrass: "Narrative of the Burmese War," London, 1827, p. 21.

4. See Mason, Francis: "Burma" Edition 1860, p. 622 for description of the personal and intimate way in which he taught the Karens at Toungoo.

5. Although the expression is one which is used by Burmese parents when entrusting their children to teachers, the attitude of the Karen parent is the same.

6. There were already some Karen books printed by 1836 (Malcolm 1839, p. 43) in the American Baptist Mission, but the two missions were strongly antagonisistic to each other at this time, and of course no help was asked for or obtained as regards school books.

There was at least one other school of a similar type in Myaungmya. But the significanc of these schools is rather in the light of their future development into Christian Village Mission Schools than in any actual achievement at the time.

To sum up, during this period the Catholics began evangelical work for the first time in Burma openly and unhampered. This they carried on among the Karens, a race with a less well-grounded culture and religion and therefore, easily persuaded. Their success in influencing the Karens made their work significant for the first time.

Like their rivals, the American Baptist missionaries, they had begun the work of converting a minor race to Christianity, a religion which the other races do not accept in any consiperable numbers. It was a beginning in a process which has created to-day a certain estrangement between the increasing numbers of Christain Karens and the Buddhist population of Burma.

Secondly, a beginning in the provision of schools for Europeans and Eurasians in which they still have a great share, was made during this period in Moulmein, where most of the foreigners were settled.

B

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSION SCHOOLS 1824-53.

The American Baptist Mission also began its work in education only during this period although the mission had been established since 1813.[1] Mrs. Judson, as soon as she became proficient in Burmese, kept a " school " for women catechumens while she was in Rangoon and later another one at Ava. But these could hardly be called schools in the accepted sense, as the pupils were adults and probably knew how to read and write like many other Burmese women, and also because the teaching was confined to religion with the sole aim of conversion. But after the war, she began a school for children for the first time at Amhurst in July, 1826. There were about ten Burmese children (mostly girls) who were taught by one of the Burmese converts. In 1827, when the mission moved to Moulmein on account of the migration of the population thither, the pupils formed the nucleus of a school there under Mrs. Wade and Mrs. Boardman. Mr. Boardman also kept a similar school composed of a few boy catechumens of various nationalities. These were the first American Baptist Mission Schools. When the new mission at

1. It began in 1813 when Judson and his wife settled in Rangoon. They remained there till 1823 except for brief trips to Calcutta for health, and Mrs. Judson's visit to America in 1821-22. In January, 1924, the Judsons went to Ava being then in favour with the Burmese King, but they were imprisoned during the war for certain suspected monetary dealings with a Mr. H. Gouger, an English merchant connected with the East India Company.

Tavoy was established in 1828, Boardman took the brightest boys with him, who began teauching the new boys during the first year. Moulmein and Tavoy remained the only stations, except for the stations at Sandoway established in 1840 to "get at" the Karens of the Delta from British territory. During the first four years from 1826-1830, the work of the mission was confined to the Burmese, the Talaings and the Tavoyans of Tenasserim. But from 1830 onwards, mission work progressed among the Karens of Amhurst and Tavoy Districts. The first schools were, therefore, almost exclusively concerned with the teaching of Burmese and Talaing children of the lower classes, mostly little girls[1]. The chief motive behind this yearly school-keeping seems to have been to attract heathen children to school and gradually influence them toward conversion [2], an easier process as compared with the work of persuasion of adult Buddhists. All the schools mentioned above were schools teaching the three Rs. besides Christianity, which of course remained the chief concern and with which the teaching of reading (and writing when it was taught) was inextricably bound up through the use of tracts and catechism as texts. The Burmese language was the medium of instruction. In arithmetic, an elementary arithmetic book commonly used in America at the time was translated into Burmese and used in some of these schools [3]. The girls were taught sewing and needlework in addition.

The actual number of schools and pupils is difficult to ascertain, as reference to such matters in the too few records and only too plentiful and voluminous, but usually merely eulogistic biographies of missionaries are either obvious inaccuracies, or too brief and casual to be of much assistance. The general impression one gains from the mass of this mission literature is, however, of the existence of a fair number

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1. Christianity won its first converts in Burma from among the lower and poorer classes with whom the religious culture that is the common and usual possession of the other classes above them is not so well rooted.

2. Stevens, Mrs. H. O. (who reached Burma in 1866) suggests in a letter that mission schools were first established because "the missionaries felt the need of schools for the children of Christians as the only other schools were monastic schools and taught the Buddhist scriptures". But as there were only few converts in 1826 (about four households in Moulmein) the number of schools is obviously disproportionately too large. Again, in 1836, there were only five converts in the Town of Tavoy when there were six day schools with one hundred and fifty pupils (Malcolm, H. in work cited below, p. 36). What also seems to make the original purpose of the schools certain is the fact that Howard Malcolm visitor to the Baptist Missions in the East who visited Burma in 1836, quoted the example of the Burma Branch in his condemnation of too much reliance on schools as agencies for conversion. Malcolm H. "Travels in South Eastern Asia" with a critical chapter on "The Mode of Conducting Modern Missions". London, 1839, Vol. 11, p. 299-300.

1. Forrester, Fanny : *Ibid*, p. 51.

of "day-Vernacular mission" schools in Moulmein as well as in Tavoy by 1830; that is, in about 4 years' time from the date of the real commencement of the mission. In 1831 at Tavoy there were said to be five day schools for Tavoyans, with eighty pupils [1] which had increased by 1836 to six schools and one hundered and fifty pupils (Malcolm: *Ibid*, p.26). Of these, the earliest established had received a grant from the Government since the beginning in 1828, while the other had also received assistance in 1833 [2]. In Moulmein which as chief town was also an educational centre, there were six day Vernacular schools in 1835 all of them for the Burmese and Talaing children[3]. The total number of pupils was, however, very small, being only about forty-five to fifty. [4] The number of pupils when compared with the number of schools suggests the very simple nature of these schools[5] and shows how really not dissimilar they are from the many little secular or lay schools kept for merit by pious men and women for the teaching of little boys too young to go to the monastery and little girls who could attend school there. They were, in fact, little classes of a dozen children or so taught daily often at the houses of converts in different parts of the town, either by converts or by hired non-Christian teachers[6]. These teachers, both converts and non-Christians must have been mostly from the poorer classes, and without education and Burmese culture if the few who are mentioned by name in the various accounts can be taken as typical [7]. They were visited at their work once every few days for a short period at a time by either the missionary, his wife, or one of the lady assistant

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1. Forrester, Fanny: *Ibid*, p. 115.

2. "Selected Correspondence", p. 78.

3. Forrester, Fanny: *Ibid*, p. 130.

4. Malcolm, H: *Ibid*, p. 72.

5. Stevens, Mrs. H. O. mentions in her letter the very simple nature of similar schools even at a later date *i.e.* 1860-66.

6. Malcolm, Howard: *Ibid*, Vol. 2 p. 303: 1, p. 70-72, speaking of mission practice in general. But from his description of the mission work in Burma it can be seen that the practice of sometimes hiring non-Christian teachers was also common in Moulmein and Tavoy when he visited them in 1836.

7. Men like Ko Tha Byu and Maung Ing taught in the early day schools. The former was a robber and redeemed debt-slave, and illiterate. He was taught reading by Judson and baptised in May, 1828, but we find from the record that he was "teaching school" in the interior at Tshiekku using the available Burmese tracts as text books by July of the same year so that "some of his pupils at the close of school (after the rainy season) could repeat verbatim whole tracts." Mason, F: "Memoir of Ko Tha Byu", Bassein, 1884, p. 43.

Maung Ing also was of little education and without the religious culture which is the common possession of all Buddhists, being as a fisherman, one of the lowest classes and "outcasts" in the social order of the Burma of pre-British times.

missionaries. The thoroughness of this very necessary supervision[1] of course, varied according to the number of supervisors available, and to the frequency and duration of the visits. "The plan now often pursued is for the missionary or his wife to superintend five or ten or even twenty schools taught by hired pagans. They are visited once every few days in the cool of the morning, giving ten, fifteen minutes to each, in some cases once a month. The hired master merely teaches reading and writing, and that too often in his own inexpert and perhaps ferocious manner." (Malcolm, H: *Ibid*, p.303). If the teachers were untrained and generally of low attainments, supervision and actual teaching in the method of instruction through example by the missionary or his wife might have helped them to improve. But such attention to schools was impossible in most missions, because with the exception of about four months in the year during the rainy season (when travelling was difficult) the missionary was away from town at frequent intervals, and consequently the whole of the mission work at the station used to devolve on the wife during his absence. With all her own household management to attend to, her many duties in connection with the flock, and the work of proselytising, she was incapable at most times to carry out even the hurried morning inspection of the schools. Therefore, these schools must have been inferior to the monastery and the lay schools where the teaching was done by men of Burmese education and culture, experienced in teaching and who were skilful enough in the use of their own methods. Compared with the Christian convert teacher, the monk and the lay teacher of the indigenous schools had moreover the advantage of teaching towards ideals and a system of values in life which they understood thoroughly and which were part of their being. The converted teacher on the other hand did not possess Burmese culture, while his Christian culture was still to be acquired gradually. This being so, even his religious teaching must have been at best blundering and uncertain[2]. Thus there is reason to suppose that in the majority of these town day-Vernacular schools neither the secular purpose of instruction nor the evangelical purpose of conversion was fully achieved [3]. But in both the towns of Moulmein and Tavoy, one or two of the day schools received at one

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1. Of the necessity of European or American missionary's supervision to keep the schools "efficient" in the teaching of secular knowledge as well as Christianity, all the early mission experts were unanimous, (*e. g.*, Malcolm, H :—American Baptist Mission ; Bigandet :—Roman Catholic Mission ; Marks :—Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

2. Malcolm, Howard :. in Recommendation 10, endorsed the practice of employing native Christian assistants, but recommended that " a much greater measure of mental cultivation and religious knowledge should be bestowed upon them" Malcolm, H: *Ibid*, p. 325.

3. "Amoung all the Burman, I know of no Christian who is regarded as the fruit of the schools ". Malcolm, H: *Ibid*, p, 300.

time or another direct teaching by the American missionary's wife or one of the lady missionaries. In these schools, conditions approximated more to what we associate with the word " school " and they, of course, formed a higher class of day school, some of them teaching the English language in addition to Burmese. The grant-aided school mentioned above as the earliest to receive Government aid was of this type which developed later into the standard "station" type of school usually called the "Town American Baptist Mission Anglo-Vernacular School". The pupils of this first Anglo-Vernacular Mission School in Burma were mostly Tavoyans, and " they were taught to read, speak and write the English and the Burmese languages. The advanced classes study the elements of arithmetic, geography and astronomy."[1] In Moulmein, a similar American Baptist Mission School probably did not come into being during this period because the Government established a Town Free School in September, 1834 with the Rev. Cephas Bennett (of the American Baptist Mission) in charge, which supplied whatever demand[2] there was at the time for English education.

But the most remarkable development of Baptist mission education as with the Roman Catholic, was among the Karens which began during this period. As the Karens lived in parts that were difficult to reach in those days of almost total lack of means of communication other than the rivers, the work of evangelising was carried on during the first two years 1828-29 by Ko Tha Byu and other Karens who, as natives, could stand the climate better. But from 1830, Boardman and later Mrs. Boardman and the Masons toured the jungle Karen villages in the interior of Tenasserim and from the beginning groups for learning the Catechisms and prayers were formed in most of the villages [3]. Also from almost

1. Boardman's (Rev) report. Tavoy, June 1830. See King, Alonzo : " Memoir of George Dana Boardman ", Boston, 1848, p. 251.

2. There was as first no demand. But soon the official need of Burmese clerks for the rapidly growing work of the Government offices coupled with a sincere though vague wish to provide some form of English education more " useful " and conducive to more " mental improvement" (See Maingy, A. D : Letter No. 131, Section 5, Year 1833, p, 108-9 " Selected Correspondence ") induced the English Civil officers to influence their Burmese subordinates and members of the merchant class in favour of English education for their sons. The practical sense of the Burmese parent soon made him send his son to an English school. " The Burmese and Talaing men of rank and influence however, are proud to have their children instructed in the English language and in our branches of learning whenever they are certain that no attempt will be made to interfere with the religious faith of the children." (*Ibid*).

3. They are often referred to as " schools " in the usual loose way characteristic of Missionary accounts of educational activities. In the earlier accounts (*e g.*,) " Memoir of Ko Tha Byu", p. 143: "Memoir of B. Judson, p. 190) and later accounts which are based on them, leave the reader to assume that they were village schools of the type common to-day. (See Harris, E. N. : "A Star in the East", an account of the American Baptist Missions to the Karens in Burma, New York, 1920.)

the very beginning, as the result of an urgent need for numerous catechist-schoolmasters, the more promising Karen boys and young men were encouraged to come to the Mission headquarters at Tavoy and later at Moulmein during the comparative leisure of the three to four months of the rainy season from about July to September and live in the boarding schools, acquiring Christian knowledge and behaviour, and in later years the three Rs in Karen when the language had been reduced to writing. From the catechism and prayer groups in the jungle Karen settlements there developed the Karen Christian "Village schools" while the selective boarding-schools meant as training schools for teaching-catechists developed into what came to be known as Karen "Normal" or "Theological" Schools. There were two village schools in the interior of Tenasserim in 1829 [1] and about fifty Karens scattered in different villages who learned at the schools periodically, while in Tavoy town there were already two boarding-schools entirely for them altogether making up a total of one hundred and seventy Karens under Christian instruction. From these small beginnings developed a considerable system of mission schools both village primary and Town Normal boarding schools during this period. So that when the next piece of Burmese territory (*viz.*, Pegu and Martaban) were annexed in 1852, the missionaries had already about 20 years experience of educating the Karen peoples [2]. In 1843 an even more ambitious boarding-school [3] was opened at Moulmein for the training of Karen pastors and evangelists (who were also of course, prospective teachers) from which has grown up the present Judson College in Rangoon which is one of the two constituent colleges of the University of Rangoon.

As regards the village schools, it is impossible even to guess their number during this early period when no records were kept and only occasional references to schools were made in letters and quasi-reports. But they no doubt increased in number with the spread of Christianity in Tenasserim. There was certainly no lack of efforts to increase their number to judge from the increase in the number of Normal or Training Schools for Karen catechists, pastors, evangelists and teachers.

Bassein, which was then still in Burmese territory was also evangelised during this period. The "base of operations" was at Sandoway, where in 1840 the Rev. E. L. Abbott began his sytem of "sending out

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1. Forrester, Fanny : *Ibid*, p. 113.

2. "Mrs. Boardman established more village schools later but was obliged to discontinue them not being able to supervise the teachers and pupils."

3. "The Binney College". Dr. Binney taught the Theological department while Mrs. Binney taught the teacheres in the Normal department. Carpenter, C. H: "Self Support illustrated in the History of the Bassein Karen Mission from 1880-1890". Boston 1883, p. 117. It is a mine of information for the period it covers and rich with copies of original letters, etc.

native assistants with letters of encouragement and love....(to) travel among their countrymen, and preach the Gospel without being suspected of political designs"[1] But these Karen assistants ware asked not only to preach to their countrymen but also to entice them to come and see the "white teacher with the last book" across the Arakan Mountains in Sandoway in British Arakan. To judge from the detailed extracts from Abbott's journal quoted in C. N. Carpenter's interesting and valuable compilation, a considerable number of Karens crossed the mountains from Burmese territory to obtain tracts both in Burmese and Karen [2] and to learn the new religion of which they had heard from their countrymen. By the 12th April 1840, Abbott had already begun a school for those of the converts who could remain during the rainy season and go through a further training in Christain doctrine and practice. By the 10th May, the number of pupils had already increased to fifty, the ages varying from below sixteen to thirty [3]. There were more applicants for admission than the missionary could accommodate and many had to be refused. This school developed into the boarding type of Mission School and the first teachers and pastors were trained there. The next year Abbott made a class of about thirty from among all the applicants which he intended as the means of a more intensive training for their future work as assistants when they returned to their villages in Burma Proper. The chief aim of this training school was to enable students to "understand the principles of the Gospel which they are to teach."

The actual teaching in this school is given below as no doubt typical of general principles of American Baptist Missionary practice in their "Normal Schools" during the period before their gradual re-organization under the Department of Public Instruction from 1867 onwards. The school received personal teaching from Abbott. In the mornings, lessons were given in arithmetic, geography and the teaching of "the organization of a Christian church, the qualifications, call, appointment, and duties of bishops and deacons" through a detailed study of a Karen translation of Paul's Epistles to Timothy. In the afternoon, the study was directed entirely to the Gospels. There was, of course, a good deal of memorising of the Scriptures as books were still scarce (although the printing

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1. Letter. Abbott, E. L, from Sandoway, 17th March, 1840, given in Carpenter, C.H: *Ibid*, p 37. Sandoway was chosen because it was the nearest healthy town to the Karen country (present Bassein District) in the British territory of Arakan The extensive frontier with four passes (Baumee in the North, Kyoungtha, easiest and most used by the Karens, and KgKwat, most difficult of all and the Poloung in the South) was also an added advantage.

2. Carpenter, C. H: *Ibid*, p. 12, 41.

3. Of course, few women came across the border over the mountains as the rigour of the four days' journey was severe. However, on the 30th June, 1842, six Karen women arrived in Sandoway.

works was about this time being pushed forward with great energy at Moulmein). It was necessary to know by heart endless passages of scripture to preach to the converted, to evangelise among the heathen, and to teach the children and catechumens. The importance of this phase of the Mission's work for the evangelising of the Karen people is considerable. Through the work done during these ten years the American Baptist Missionaries were able to have Karen Christian congregations in the Bassein villages already waiting for them in 1852 when through the second Burmese war, the Delta districts came into British hands. Abbott's mission boat reached Bassein a few days after the gun-boats.

MAUNG KAUNG.

THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY EDUCATION IN BURMA, 1600-1824.

To

THE EDITOR,

The Journal of the Burma Research Society,

SIR,

In Maung Kaung's interesting paper on "The Beginnings of Christian Missionary Education in Burma, 1600-1824," there occurs a statement upon which I should like to throw some light. The writer mentions that the Talaings in 1744 killed the Roman Catholic Bishop and two of his fellow missionaries on account of their having been involved in a massacre of some Danes who had attempted to settle at Syriam by force under the leadership of a Chevalier de Sconenville, (J.B.R.S. XX, II, 1930).

Francois de Schonamille was the " directeur " of the Ostend East India Company's factory at Bankibazar on the Hugli. The Ostend Company was regarded with great disfavour by both the English and Dutch. In 1731 therefore in a treaty with Austria recognising the famous Progmatic Sanction, by which on the Emperor's death Maria Theresa was to succeed to all the Austrian dominions, Great Britain secured the insertion of a clause stipulating for the suppression of the Ostend Company. The Bankibazar factory, however, refused to close its doors until in 1744, possibly at the instigation of the English and Dutch, the faujdar of Hugli attached it and drove out its garrison. De Schonamille with 300 men set out to seek his fortunes in Pegu, sending his wife to Madras with the request—flatly refused by the President and Council of Fort St. George—that she might be allowed to reside these under British protection. De Schonamille and some hundred of his followers were

massacred in Pegu in 1745. The report of the affair, which came through to the Fort St. George Council is recorded in the Madras Public Proceedings s. v. consultation of 29th July 1745. It runs as follows.

"That Mr. Schonamille intending to make a visit to the King set out from Syriam to Pegue with 80 Europeans and 20 Topasses; that upon his arrival there he was told the King was gone a hunting but would return in a day or two. Upon which suspecting some treachery they returned to their boats, but found them drawn up the country. It was then the natives attacked them, and they made a resistance for three days and were all cut off excepting three, who made their escape." Some of his men sailed off for Batavia A party of them seized a French vessel, the *Charles* at Mergui; but they and their prize were captured by a British warship belonging to Commodore Barnett's squadron. To save themselves from the usual fate of men condemned for piracy, they took service under the British colours.

The incident was not soon forgotten at the Court of Pegu, which for long afterwards feared reprisals. Thus when Fort St. George sent Captain Thomas Taylor to survey the island of Negrais in 1752, it was rumoured at Pegu that a number of Austrian vessels were about to join the English at Negrais in a punitive expedition against the murderers of de Schonamille and his followers.

Yours etc.,

D. G. E. HALL.

1st August 1930.

PADDY PLANTING SONGS.

ကောက်စိုက်သီချင်းအကြောင်း။

ရှေးအခါ၌၊ ရွှေဘိုနယ်တွင် လယ်ကြီးများကိုစိုက်လျှင်။ ပုံချ၍သော်၎င်း။ သနတ်ခါး၊ဖြူး၊မှန်၊ ဖတီးလက်ကောက်များကို ပြင်၍သော်၎င်း။ လယ်ကြီး၏အလယ်ချက်၌။ ၄က်ပျော်ပင်စိုကို စိုက်၍သော်၎င်း။ ၄က်ပျော်ပင်နှင့်တကွ ရာဇမှတ်ကာ၍သော်၎င်း။ဝက်ခေါင်းအစိမ်းကိုဘင်၍သော်၎င်း။ ဝက်သားအကျက်ကို ပွဲရန်အုပ်နှင့်ပြင်ဆင်၍သော်၎င်း စသည်ဖြင့်။ အနည်းနည်း အဖုံဖုံ၊ ဆိုင်းရာ နတ်တို့ကို ပသ၍။ စိုက်လေ့ရှိခဲ့ကြသည်။ ယခုအခါ၌။ ဤအလေ့အလာသည် အတော်ပင်ပပျောက်လေသည်။ အချို့သောဒေသများ၌။ ယခုတိုင်ရှေးထုံးမပျက်ဘဲ။ လယ်ကြီးများကို ပုံချ၍ပိတ်ကြလေသည်။ ထိုသို့မပိတ်လျှင်။ လယ်ရှင်၌ထိခိုက်တတ်သည်ဟု အယူရှိကြသည်။

လယ်ကြီးတိုင်းကိုပင်၊ပုံချ၍မပိတ်ကြ၊လယ်ကြမ်းသည်။ သို့မဟုတ်။ နတ်ကြိုးသည်ဟူ။ ရှေးအစဉ်အလာကစ၍။အမှတ်ပြုသောလယ်ကြီးများကိုသာ။ပုံချ၍ပိတ်ကြသည်။

ရှေးအခါ၌ လယ်ကြီးများကို။ ပုံချ၍ ပိတ်မည့်နေ့ကျရောက်လျှင်။ ကောက်စိုက်သူများနှင့်။ ပုံကြိုးသည့်ကာလသားများကို။ညနေလယ်ပိတ်၍အပြီးတွင်။ ကျေးမွေးရန်။ လယ်ရှင်၏အိမ်၌။ စားဘွယ်သောက်ဘွယ်များကို။ ပြင်ဆင်၍ထားရလေသည်။

ကောက်စိုက်သူမမျှ ားသည်။မိမိတို့ငန်းဦးနှင့်အတူ။ ကောက်စိုက်ရန်လယ်သို့။ နံနက်စောစောက လာ၍။ အသီးအသီးသောငန်းများသို့။ ဆင်းပြီးလျှင်။ စိုက်ကြလေသည်။ ထိုသို့ စိုက်နေကြစည်။ တငန်းရှိ တဦးဦးသော ကောက်စိုက်မက၊သိချင်းကို၊အတိုင်ဆိုလျှင်။အခြားဘငန်းရှိတဦးဦးသောကောက်စိုက်မက၊အချင်းကိုဆိုလေသည်။ တို့နှစ်ဦးသာဆိုကြသည်မဟုတ်။ အခြားသောကောက်စိုက်မကလည်း။ မိမိတို့ရရာသီချင်းများကို၊ အတိုင်အချဆိုကြသည်။ထိုကောက်စိုက်သူများသည်။မိန်းမများဖြစ်ကြသော်လည်း။ အချို့သောနေရာ၌။ ယောကျ်ားများအနေနှင့် သီဆိုကြသည်။

ညနေလယ်ပိတ်ချိန်နီးလျှင်။ကာလသားများသည်။ ပုံကြိုး။ အတီး၊ အမှုတ်များနှင့်ကခုံ၍။ ရွာမှကောက်စိုက်သောလယ်သို့လာကြလေသည်၊လယ်ပိတ်သောအခါ။ကာလသားများသည်။ ပုံကြိုးချင်းကိုဆို၍။ ပုံနှင့်လယ်တည်းသို့ဆင်း၍တီးမှုတ်ကြသည့်အပြင် ကောက်စိုက်သူမများနှင့်လည်း တဦးကိုတဦး။ ရွှံနှင့်ပက်၊ရွှံနှင့်သုတ်၊ ရွှံတည်းတွင် တွန်းထိုးကစားကြသည်။ လယ်ပိတ်၍ပြီးလျှင်။ ကောက်စိုက်သူမများနှင့် ပုံကြိုးသည် ကာလသားတို့သည်။လယ်မှတက်၍။ လယ်ရှင်၏အိမ်သို့တီးမှုတ်။ သီဆို။ ကခုံသွားကြသည်။ အိမ်သို့ရောက်လျှင် စားဘွယ်သောက်ဘွယ်များကိုစားသောက်၍။မိမိတို့၏နေအိမ်အသီးအသီးသို့ပြန်ကြလေ၏။

ပဥ္စမသင်္ဂါယနာတင် မင်းတရားကြီး အထွဋ်အမြတ်သို့ ရောက်ပြီးနောက်။ ရတနာသိဿ်မြို့အရှေ့။ ခရိုးလေးမိုင်ခန့်ကွာ။ ဆင်းကွပ်ကန်တော်ပျက်စီးယိုယွင်းသည်ကို။ ဆည်ဖို့ခဲတော်မူသည်။ ဆည်ဖို့ရှိပြီးသည်နောက် မြောင်းကြီးရွာသူကြီးပိုင် လယ်ယာကြီးတွင်။ ခမ်းနားစွာပုံချ၍ စိုက်သောအခါ၌။ ကောက်စိုက်သူမ များသည်။ နံနက်ကစ၍။ညနေ၊ပုံကြိုးသည်များ။ ရွာကလာသည်တိုင်အောင်။ သီချင်းဆို၍လယ်ကြီးကို။ စိုက်ကြလေသည်။ ထိုကောက်စိုက်သူမများဆိုသော။သီချင်းများကို။မြောင်းကြီးရွာနေ အသက် ၈၀ ကျော်သူဒေါ်မိက။ မှတ်သားမိသလောက်ဆို၍ပြသည်။

ပုံချ၍—ပုံကြိုးနှင့်။ တီးမှုတ်။ လယ်တည်းသို့။ ဆင်း၍။

ပိတ်—စိုက်၍အပြီးသတ်သည်။ (ထိုနေ့စိုက်၍မပြီးလျှင်။ ငန်းပဲ့သည်ဟုဆိုသည်။)

ဝက်စားလယ်။ ခေါင်တဘူးလယ်။ မောင်းတီးလယ်၊ ပုံတီးလယ် ဟူ၍ ခေါ်သော လယ်များသည်။ ဝက်သား၊ ခေါင်ရည် တဘူး၊မောင်းတီ ။ပုံတီး၍တင်မြောက်။စိုက်ရသောလယ်များဖြင့်သည်။

ငန်းဦး—လူကြီးလုပ်၍။ ကောက်စိုက်ရန်လုပ်ငန်းကို။ စေ့ဆော်သောသူ။ ငန်းဆော်ဟူ၍လည်းခေါ်သည်။

ငန်းများ—ကောက်စိုက်ရန်။ လုပ်ငန်းနေရာများ။

ပုံကြိုးချင်း—ရွှေဘိုပုံကြိုးသီချင်း။

ဆင်းကွပ်ကန်မော်—ဟံသာနဂရ (ဟလင်းကြီး)တွင် ထီးနန်းစိုက်သော၊ပြုပြင်။ ပြုံးမင်းတို့ဆည်ကဲ့သော။ ကန် ဟု အမှတ်ပြုကြသည်။မြောင်းကြီး။မြောင်းကုန်း၊ မြောင်းဝင်း၊ ဆင်းကွပ်စသောရွာများသည်။ထိုကန်ရေသောက်ရွာများဖြစ်ကြသည်။

နံနက်ပိုင်း ဆိုသော သီချင်းများ။

၁။ [က] မနက်ဆွမ်းတော်တင်။ပြင်ပြီးလားမေး။
[ခ] ဆွမ်းတော်တင်။ပျိုပြင်ပြီးပ။မောင်ကြီးရယ်လေး။

၂။ [က] ညဦးယံတွန်တဲ့ကြက်ကို။လင်းကြက်လားမေး။
[ခ] မသိသေးလား။မလေးမောင်ရယ်။သန်းခေါင်တဲ့လေး။

၃။ [က] ရွှေမြောင်းရွာ။ သာပါသေးလား။ရွှေမြို့နေမေး။

[ခ] သာပါရဲ့။ရွာနံဘေးမှာ။ရိုးရေကဖွေး။

၄။ [က] မလေးလွမ်းလေအောင်။ငှက်ရွှေဖိုးကောင်။
[ခ] လွမ်းလေအောင်ငှက်ရွှေဖိုးက။မြို့ငှက်ရိုးကိုထိုး။

၅။ [ဂ] ရွှေမြောင်းတောင်ဆည်ဘောင်ရိုးက။ငှက်ရွှေဖိုးသာ။
[ဃ] ဆည်ဘောင်ရိုးက။ငှက်ဖိုးသာတယ်။နားနာကြလေး။

၆။ [င] ရွှေမြောင်းရွာတောင်။ကျောင်းဆယ်နှစ်ဆောင်။
[ခ] ဆယ်နှစ်ဆောင်ပျဉ်ထောင်ကြား။ခိုညီးသံကြား။

၇။ [ဂ] ဘုရားဖူးချေစို့ရဲ့။မင်းပျို့ကိုသွေး။
[ခ] ဖူးချေစို့။ ရွှေမာလဲ။ တောင်လဲမှာလေး။

၈။ [က] ဘုရားစေတီမှာ။ခဲခိုစို့လေး။
[ခ] ပျို့ခိုမယ်။စေတီလှကို။မင်းကြွခဲ့လေး။

၉။ [က] ဘုရားရွှေတိဂုံ။လေးဆူဝါတိပုံ။
[ခ] ရွှေဘိဂုံ။ခဝါတ်ပုံရိုက်ကို။ဖူးထိုက်ပေလေး။

၁၀။ [က] လှေဦးမှာ ဖူးစောင် ပုံ။စုန်မဲ့ရက်ရွေး။

[ခ] စုန်ရေငှက်ယ်။ ပြေ့ဖြူစင်း နှင့်။မြော်ခင်းပျိုဝေး။

၁၁။ [က] ရွှေမြို့က။ပန်းခွါညို့။စာဆိုနှင့်ပေး။
[ခ] စာဆိုနှင့်။ ခွါညိုပန်းရယ်။နန်းမြေထိမွေး။

၁၂။ [က] ရွှေမြို့နေ။မင်းချောင်းက။ထုံသင်းကိုပေး။
[ခ] လိမ်းမယ်လို့။ပျိုချောတော့ခါ။လေးပြည်ကမွေး။

၁၃။ [က] ရွှေမြို့က။ငွေပန်းငုံကို။လူကြီးတိုင်းပေး။
[ခ] ငွေပန်းငုံ။လူကြီးပေးကို။သိမ်းပေါင်ကွဲ့လေး။

ရွှေမြောင်းရွာ = ရွှေဘိုမြို့အရှေ့ခရီး ၃ မိုင်ကွာ။ခမြောင်းကြီးရွာ။
ထိုရွာကိုရွှေတပ်ရှိခဲ့သည်။

ရွှေမာလဲ = ကျောက်မြောင်းအရှေ့တောင်ကမ်း။ စင်ကူးမြို့နယ်အတွင်းရှိ
ရွှေမာလဲစေတီ။

ဖူးစောင် = အဖျားကအမိတ်နှင့်ခေါက်ချိုးစောင်ဖြူ။

ပြေ့ဖြူစင်း = ပန်းပြေ့နှင့်အဖြူအစင်းပုဆိုး။

PADDY PLANTING SONGS.

Morning.

1. A.—I ask, is all in readiness for the morning offerings?
   B.—For the offerings I have all in readiness, brother.

2. A.—I ask the cock of the first watch of night, is it the cock of dawn?
   B.—Know you not yet, my brother, it says "midnight"?

3. A.—I ask, I the dweller in the golden city, is Shwemyaung village lovely still?
   B.—Lovely it is. The water is white in the stream beside the village.

4. A.—The green barbet bird that made the maidens heartsick—
   B.—To make me heartsick, the golden barbet flew into the long wood.

5. C.—On the south of Shwemyaung, on the bank of the weir, the golden barbet sings sweetly.
   D.—On the bank of the weir the barbet sings sweetly. list ye.

6. E.—South of Shwemyaung village, is a monastery with twelve halls.
   B.—From between the partitions of the twelve halls you hear the moaning of pigeons.

7. C.—You are urging her. 'Let us worship the pagoda', I urge you.
   B.—Let us worship. Shwemale pagoda is among the hills.

8. A.—At the sacred temple let us lift the wishing stones.
   B.—I will lift them. Come you to the beautiful temple.

9. A.—At the golden Digon pagoda relics of four Buddha are enshrined.
   B.—At golden Digon the radiance of relics is worthy to be worshipped.

10. A.—In the bows of my boat I will pile a twill blanket and choose a day for going down river.
    B.—You will go down river with a white and red striped loin-cloth and I shall be left longing.

11. A.—From the golden city I will send you a flower of clematis with a verse.
    B.—The clematis flower, sent with a verse, will spread its sweetness as far as the palace land.

12. A.—From the feet of the king in the golden city I will send you scent.
    B.—When, to anoint myself I grind it, the four countries will be perfumed.

13. A.—From the golden city, by every chance traveller, I will send you a periwinkle bud.
    B.—Periwinkle buds sent by chance travellers I will not receive.

၁၄။ [ဂ] ရွှေမြို့ကို။ဘယ်အခင်းကြောင့်။မောင်ဆင်းသလေး။
[ခ] ကွမ်းတုံမိတ်နှင့်။အချိတ် ဝယ်ကွယ်။ဆင်းမယ်တဲ့လေး။

၁၅။ [ဂ] ပျိုခေါင်းနေကျော်။နားချိန်ကတော်။
[ဃ] နားနေနှာ။ချိန်ခေါ်ရော့မယ်။ ငန်းဆော်ပလေး။

နေ့လည်ပိုင်းဆိုသောသီချင်းများ။

၁၆။ [ဟ] လယ်ကြီး။ စိုက်မယ်ဆင်းတယ်။ နေမင်းကပူ။
[ခ] သည်နေပူ။ ဘိကွူးလုပ်မယ်။ ဘန်းကုန်းနဲ့ လေး။

၁၇။ [ခ] ခါးပုံကို။ မောင်ဖြူတ်တယ်။ ချွေးသုတ်တော့ပေး။
[ခ] စီးပလေ။ သည်မောင်မသုတ်နဲ့။ တုတ်တုတ်ကျချွေး။

၁၈။ [က] ပျိုနေရောင်ထိုးတယ်။ ငန်းစမှာညို့။
[ခ] ကွယ်လေးရဲ့။ မောင့်ချုံထည် [ထယ်]။ တန်းသွယ်လို့ပို့။

၁၉။ [က] ရော့ပါမျာ။ ညာလက်နုံးကို။ ခေါင်းအုံးတော့ပေး။
[ခ] အုံးပေါင်ကွယ်၊ ညှိညှိစိန္နရယ်။ ဘုန်းနိမ့်မည်လေး။

၂၀။ [က] အမယ်လေးက။ စိတ်မတူ။ ပူဘူးလားမေး။
[ခ] မောင်ပူလို့။ ပျိုပူရတယ်။ တန်းတူပလေး။

၂၁။ [က] အမယ်ဆိုသမျှ။ ပြောရမည်မေး။
[ခ] ပြောခြင်ပေါင်။ အိမ်တောင်က။ နားထောင်တော့လေး။

၂၂။ [က] အမယ်ရိုက်တယ်။ လိုက်မယ်ပျိုညို့။
[ခ] ပင်သူရောင်။ လူလိုသီးတယ်။ မြို့ကြီးကိုခို့။

၂၃။ [က] ပျို့ဘယ်နယ်ခိုးမယ်။ ဓမ္မဒေကဆို့။
[ခ] လွေခါးမှာ။ လှံပျံစိုက်တယ်။ ဓားစိုက်လို့ခို့။

၂၄။ [က] မျိုလေးလိုက်ခဲ့ခေါ်။ တောင်ကျော်လို့ဝေး။
[ခ] တောင်ကျော်လို့။ လိုက်ခြင်ဘူးကွယ်။ အင်ဖူးပြီလေး။

၂၅။ [က] အမယ်။ တောင်ညှိခြားတယ်။ ထားမယ်တဲ့လေး။
[ခ] တွေ့ခြင်။ တောင်စည်မေးလို့။ ဝင်ခဲ့ကွဲ့လေး။

၂၆။ [က] ခေါင်းပေါင်း။ ဘယ်မှာမျှလို့။ ခမ်းသာကမေး။
[ဂ] မောင့်ပေါင်းပြာ။ ရွှေမှုံရွှရယ်။ တန်းပေါကလေး။

၂၇။ [ခ] ကွယ်လေးရဲ့။ မင့်ပုဝါ။ ဒေါင်းရုပ်စုံပါ။
[က] ဒေါင်းရုပ်ဝါ။ လူပျိုပေး။ ဆိုလိမ့်မလေး။

ကွန်းတုံမိတ်နှင့်အချိတ် = ကွမ်းတုံက လာသော အမိတ်နှင့်တဖက်
လှအချိတ်ထမီ။

ငန်းဆော်ပလေး = အလုပ်မြန်မြန်ပြီးအောင်
ငန်းဦးကနိုးဆော်ပါ။

အင်ဖူးပြီလေး = အထက်အရပ်၌။ အင်ပင်ဖူးချိန်ကို။ တော။ တောင်များ၌ ဖျားတတ်သည်။

14. C.—What business calls him to the golden city?
B.—To buy a wavy-pattern skirt with a Canton border for my adornment.

15. C.—The sun has passed over our heads. It is time to rest.
D.—If we rest, time will be wasted. Urge on the gangs.

Midday.

16. A.—I came down to plant the big field and the sun king is hot.
B.—Hot indeed: I will become a nun with a bowl (upon my head).

17. B.—I undo the bight of my loin-cloth to wipe the sweat from your brow.
B.—Let it poor. Do not wipe it, brother—Sweat falling in drops.

18. A.—The rays of the sun strike you and you droop at the edge of the planting.
B.—Sweetheart, stretch your blanket on a rope and make a shade.

19. A.—Here, lady, and make my right arm your pillow.
B.—That pillow I will not use, brown boy; 'twere to humble you.

20. A.—Her mother is against me.—Are you not hot?
B.—If you are hot, I must be hot alike.

21. A.—You must tell me your mother's chidings.
B.—I don't care to tell. Come south of the house and listen.

22. C.—Her mother beats her: the drooping maid will follow him.
B.—Take me to the big forest of human trees and fruit.

23. A.—How shall I take you away? The mother that bore you is strict.
B.—On the stair there is set a flying spear. Brandish your dagger and take me,

24. A.—Little maid, come, I call you, far across the hills.
B.—Across the hills I will not come: the *in* trees are in bud.

25. C.—Her mother will keep her beyond a dark hill.
B.—If he wants to find me, let him ask on every hill—come in, love.

26. A.—Where is my headdress, I call from the pleasant chamber.
C.—Your blue headdress, soft and dusted with gold, is on the line.

27. B.—Sweetheart, on your scarf is a figure of a peacock in pride.
A.—A peacock figure it is. If I give it you it will be said, a bachelor gave it.

၂၀။ [ခ] ကွယ်လေးရဲ့။ မင့်ပုဝါ။ ခမ်းထောင့်မှာကာ။
[ဂ] ပျို့ခမ်းသာ။ ဝိုက်ခါမွှေးတယ်။ ပန်းစုံလှိုလေး။

၂၉။ [က] ဒေါနေရယ်။ သည်တပင်ကြောင့်။ မွေးမိခင်မုန်း။
[ခ] ချိုချိုနဲ့။ ပျိုပန်အုံးမယ်။ ဒေါနခိုင်လုံး။

၃၀။ [က] စကဝါ။ ငုံတန်သေး။ မြင်းပေါ်ကပေး။
[ခ] မောင်ပေးလို့။ မပန်ထိုက်တယ်။ မြင်းမိုက်ကပြေး။

၃၁။ [က] အပျို။ ငယ်တယ်လို့။ သုံးဆယ်ချိုင်ပေး။
[ဂ] လွန်းသုံးဆယ်။ အလယ်သေးတယ်။

၃၂။ [ခ] ကွယ်လေး။ အောက်ကိုစုံ။ မိုးမှုံလှလေး။
[ဂ] မိုးမှုံ။ အောက်ပြည်ကြီးက။ လွှစီးခဲ့လေး။

၃၃။ [ခ] ကွယ်လေးမလာကြောလို့။ မှာတော့မယ်လေး။
[က] ပျိုမှာရင်။ ရွှေဂုံသိန်းအောင်။ လွှမ်းလိမ့်မလေး။

ညနေပိုင်းဆိုသောသီချင်းများ။

၃၄။ [က] အနောက်ကိုနေဝင်လုလို့။ ပျိုနုတွေးမိုင်။
[ခ] နေဝင်လုလို့။ ပျိုနုမိုင်တယ်။ ပန်းခိုင်ကြိရေး။

၃၅။ [က] ပျိုတို့ကြိရေး။ ကုန်ခဲ့ပြီလေး။
[ခ] ဝိုးချစ်သုံ့။ ခါးပုံပွန့်။ လူလှကြိရေး။

၃၆။ [က] ရွှေခါညို့။ တွန်လှပြီ။ တောစွန်ကလေး။
[ခ] မောင်နှင့်မယ်။ ရွှခါဖမ်း။ သွားစန်းစိုလေး။

၃၇။ [က] သမင်ကတောက်။ ချေကဟောက်။ မျောက်ကကြိုးခွေ။ ဒေါင်းအိုးဝေ။
[ခံ] ဒေါင်းအိုးဝေ။ ကြိုးခွေမျောက်ကြောင့်။ ပျိုကြောက်သလေး။

၃၈။ [က] မိုးချုပ်ရင်။ ကြိုလှည့်လို့။ မှာခဲ့သလေး။
[ခ] ဖန်မီးအိမ်။ နန်းချည်ကျွမ်းအောင်။ ထွန်းကြိုလှဲ [လှည့်] လေး။

၃၉။ [က] အပျိုကြိုလှဲ့လို့။ မှာခဲ့တယ်လေး။
[ခ] ကြိုမှဲလူ။ ပေါ်လာခဲတယ်။ တောခံလို့လှဲ့။

ညနေပိုင်းဆိုသောသီချင်းများ။

28. B.—Sweetheart, make a screen of your scarf in a corner of the room.
C.—Her pleasant room is perfumed everywhere with all kinds of flowers.

29. A.—Wormwood plant, tis you that make her mother hate her.
B.—I will wheedle her and put a whole twig of wormwood in my chair.

30. A.—From my horse's back I will pluck you a magnolia bud with slender stem.
B.—If you gave it me, it were not fit that I put it in my hair. The wild horse would run away.

31. A.—You are a young maid. I will give you a skirt woven with thirty shuttles.
C.—With thirty shuttles, the middle part would be small, fit for everyday wear.

32. B.—Sweetheart, come down river, the sky is dark.
C.—The sky is dark, come in a boat from the low country.

33. B.—Sweetheart, you are long in coming. I will send for you.
A.—If you were to send for me my longing to come would set Shwegon town a-tremble.

Evening.

34. A.—The sun is sinking in the west and we girls are weary.
B.—The sun has nearly set and the girls are weary.
Now it is for the lads, that are like flowery sprays to take thought.

35. A.—We girls have taken thought and our business is finished.
B.—We bonny boys of the flowing silk loin-cloth we must take thought.

36. A.—The golden brown partridge is calling and calling from the edge of the wood.
B.—Let boy and girl catch the golden partridge: let us go and try.

37. A.—The brow-antlered deer cries *tauk* and the barking-deer *hauk*, the monkey *kyohkwe* and the peacock *o-we*.
B.—Because of the peacock's *o-we* and the *kyohkwe* of the monkey we girls are afraid.

38. A.—We told them to meet us at dusk.
B.—To meet us with glass lamps blazing as to burn out the cotton wicks.

39. A.—Meet the girls, we told them.
B.—They are long in coming that should meet us. They have lost their way in the belt of forest.

၄၀။ [က] လမ်းလယ်။ ချုံရိုင်းကြောင့်။ ပျိုထိပ်သလေး။
[ခ] ကွယ်လေးရယ်။ ငွေခေးလွယ်နှင့်။ လမ်းဖယ်လှည့်လေး။
၄၁။ [က] သူ့သား။ သူ့မေနွှဲမ်တယ်။ ခိုးချိန်မှီလေး။
[ခ] ညနေ။ ခတ်ခြေလုံးနှင့်။ ပျော်တုံးမှီလေး။
၄၂။ [က] လသာကျောက်ပျဉ်ခင်းတယ်။ နှင်းဆီဥ သွေး။
[ခ] ကွယ်လေးက။ ပျိုကိုမှီတယ်။ နှင်းဆီနုံမွေး။
၄၃။ [ကို] သူ့သား။ သူ့မေချစ်လို့။ လွှေသစ်ကိုပေး။
[ခ] ရွှေကူတောင်။ ကျောက်ဆောင်ဝဲကို။ လွှဲလွှေ့ခဲ့လေး။
၄၄။ [က] မြစ်ကြီးပြင်ကျယ်။ လှိုင်းကလေးသွယ်။
[ခ] ဝဲအလယ်။ မြစ်ငယ်နိုးမှာ။ လှိုင်းမောက်လို့မိုး။
၄၅။ [က] သူများမှာ။ ဆန္ဒမ်းစာ။ မိုးရွာမှမျိုး။
[ခ] ကွယ်လေး။ ရောင်ခွေကြိုးလို့။ ရေနိုးရာမျိုး။
၄၆။ [က] ကွယ်လေးရဲ့။ မင်ကြောင်။ဘယ်မှောင်မှာထိုး။
[ခ] အေးနဂလိန်။ ပုသိန်ခင်းလို့။ မှောင်တွင်းမှာထိုး။
၄၇။ [က] ပျိုခေါင်းစမွှာယ်ဖြူ။ ပန်သူနဲ့ လေး။
[ခ] စမွှာယ်ခိုင်။ ဖွားတိုင်လှည့်ရာ။ လွဲရော့ကွဲ့လေး။

ခတ်ခြေလုံး—ခြင်းလုံး။
နှင်းဆီဥ—နှင်းဆီပန်းများကိုအဆိုထုတ်၍ခဲထားသောအခဲ။
ရွှေကူတောင်—စည်ကူးတောင်။ (မတွေရာနယ်အဖိုင်။)
ဆန္ဒမ်းစာ—အထက်အရပ်တွင်ပေါက်တတ်သောဆန္ဒမ်းစာပန်းပင်။
အေးနဂလိန်။ ပုသိန်—ပုသိန်နဂလိန် ပဝါကြီး။

40. A.—Because of the bosky shade on the way we girls are alarmed.
B.—Sweethearts, with the silver knives slung from your shoulders clear a path.

41. A.—Their mothers are chiding them: 'tis the time of chastisement.
B.—'Tis evening and the time for playing basket-ball.

42. A.—By moonlight I lay down a flat stone and grind balls of rose petals.
B.—The lover leans on his sweetheart and the roses smell sweet.

43. A.—The mother loved her boy and gave him a new boat.
B —Steer clear of the rocky whirlpool south of Golden Grot.

44. A.—The big river is broad and there are four lines of breakers.
B.—In the little channel in the midst of the whirlpool the waves rise high overhead.

45. A.—Other people plant *sanunza* when it rains
B.—Sweetheart because his top-knot is big plants it near the water.

46. A.—Sweetheart with thighs tattoed, where are you going in the darkness?
B.—I have spread my Bassein kerchief, my thin dragon-twisted turban and therefore I go into the darkness.

47. A.—On my head I have white jasmine and there is one to give flowers for my hair.
B.—The stem of the bud on the jasmine twig turns and I lose her.

[လယ်စိုက်၍ပြီးခါနီး၌။ ရွာကပုံကြိုးသည်ကာလသားများသည်။ ပုံကြိုးနှင့်တီးမှုတ်။ ကခုံ၍။ လာသောအသံကို။ ကြားသောအခါ။ ငန်းဦးကစာချင်းပေးသည်။]

ငန်းဦး။ ။မောင့်ပုံသံ အစာကောင်းလို့။ မောင်းသံလိုဟီး၊ ချစ်ကြိုးသိဇဲ့။ ပင်ကိုလှရယ်။ မင်းကြွခဲ့လေး။

[တငန်းက ကောက်စိုက်သူများက။ တညီတညာတည်း။ ဆွဲ၍ဆို] ဟာ ? ? ? အလို ? ? ?

[အခြားတငန်းက] အလိုသံသာလေခြင်း။ ရိုးလုံးပြည့်ဆင်း။

တငန်းက။ ။အလိုသံသာ။ ပုံကြိုးသယ်။ ရွာကိုကြဒေါင်။ လွမ်းကြပ။ အေရို့။

နောက်တငန်းက။ ။လွမ်းသော်အေ။ စိတ်တော်ဖြည့်တင်းလို့။ နေရသမင်း။

တငန်းက။ ။ယျိုလေးတို့။ ကောက်စိုက်ရာ။ လိုက်လာနဲ့လေး။

နောက်တငန်းက။ ။လိုက်လာရင်။ ရှိစင်ရော့မယ်။ မောင်းပြာရင်လေး။

။ လင်းကွင်းကို။ အသာရှပ်တယ်။ ငန်းစပ်ကဆင်း။

။ ရှစင်မယ်။ရင်ခုံနင်းကွယ်။ သုံးပေါင်နဲ့မင်း။

။ ပုံပွဲကိုတဲ့ရွှမယ်လာ။ ကို့မျာဆံရှည်ပါလှတယ်။ သားများမေလား။

။ သားများမအေ။ တကယ်လေပုံတော်သား။ ရဲပမလား။

မိန်း။ ။ရွှေနားတောင်းကိုလ။ ပုံခေါင်းလောက်။ ဝတ်စေမယ်။ ပုံကြိုးသယ်။လိမ်လည်လှဲ့။နားခွါမိတယ်။

လူပျို။ ။မေးပါနှင့်ဟယ်။ရွှေကိုကွယ်။ မဆိုထားနှင့်။ ငွေကိုကွယ်။ မဆိုထားနှင့်။သူနားမှာရွှေပေရွက်ကို။ ပေးရက်ကဲ့လား။

မောင်းပြာ = ခေါင်းပေါင်းအပြာ။

သုံးပေါင်နဲ့ = သုံးနှံစပ်ပုဆိုးနှင့်။

The bachelors.—Our drum-beating because the drums have been well waxed resounds like the noise of gongs Singer of the joys of love, beautiful without adornment, come hither.

One bands of girls.—HA. . . .ALO. . . .

The other band.—Alo. How sweet is the sound, filling the whole valley.

The first band.—Alo, the sweet sound, the drummers. Think of them all the way home, lasses.

The second band —Of these we think indeed, lass. We kept a stout heart all day.

First band.—Don't come to the place where young maids are planting.

Second band.—If you come you would be mud-spattered, you of the blue turbans.

Girls.—They strike the cymbals gently. Come down by the edge of the planting.

Bachelors —We shall be mud-spattered. Tread gently, friend—you with the loin-cloth of three widths.

Will you look at our drum band? Your side-locks are long.

Are you the mother of sons?

A girl.—If I were the mother of sons, would you, drummer, be bold?

Bachelors.—Golden ear-trinkets as big as drum heads we will give you to wear.

The drummer has deceived her. She has made a big hole in her ear.

Girls.—Don't ask him. Gold, girl, don't talk of it. Silver, girl, don't talk of it. Would he part with a gold palmyra leaf for a girl's ear?

THE REPRESENTATION OF BURMESE SOUNDS.

The Dictionary Sub-Committee has accepted a proposal to print each word in the new Burmese dictionary in an adaptation of the International Phonetic Association's characters after its presentation in the Burmese form of the Nagari alphabet. A tentative scheme prepared by me appears to be still under consideration, but the minutes of the 20th October 1929 propose the use of dots " as in Burmese " to represent the tones, and Mr. J. A. Stewart has objected to the use of the glottal stop symbol (ʔ) to represent the modern form of the sound written ၏ or ၍.

As to the first point I have already urged on the Honorary Secretary the advisability of using a level line for the level tone and a sloping line for the falling tone. The following arguments appear to me conclusive :—

1. The graphic representation of tones in all languages by means of a thin line preceding the syllable and indicating whether the tone is level, rising, or falling has been accepted not only by the author of the Linguistic Survey of India (see his article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for October 1920), but by the International Phonetic Association and by the International Conference of philologists held at Copenhagen in 1925. It is obviously undesirable that the system should be departed from for Burmese.

2. The same system is followed in the Burmese Phonetic Reader, with which everyone using the dictionary is likely to be familiar.

3. A double dot is already used by the International Phonetic Association for length, and a subscribed circle for the breathed form of a consonant which is usually voiced.

4. If (့) is meant for a tone-mark it is misleading, for syllables marked (့) have the same tone as those marked (း). If it is meant to indicate a glottal stop it is unsuitable owing to its similarity to (း), and opposed to International practice, which uses a mark above the line for a glottal stop.

5. The spelling in the International symbols is intended for non-Burmans. Burmans naturally read their own, which comes just before the other. To a non-Burman (း) and (့) are meaningless, whereas (—) and (ˋ) are almost self-explanatory, and immediately suggest what they represent.

6. Burmese spelling does not always use (း) for a falling tone (*e. g.*, ဒီ), or (့) for a glottal stop (*e. g.*, ဝေ).

The general use of these symbols for Burmese is therefore neither Burmese nor International.

7. I had two excuses for using (း) and (◌့) in *Half the Battle*: first, the use of lines to represent tones had not then become general; and secondly, it prepared the learner for the Burmese spelling. Neither argument applies to the dictionary. On the contrary, the level or sloping lines explain the Burmese spelling, and correct it where it is misleading; whereas (း) and (◌့) merely repeat it.

8. Non-Burmans need to be constantly reminded of the level tone, which is essential to the meaning of the word and is nearly always unnatural to them in single words. Endings to which the level tone must be given, on pain of altering the meaning, also need to be distinguished from those to which any tone may be given. It is therefore necessary that the level tone should be marked.

9. I know of no argument in favour of (း) and (◌့).

I am aware that the Phonetic Reader places (ꩻ) among the tones, and not among the consonants like its sister (ꩺ), but I think this is a mistake. The authors were apparently influenced by the Burmese symbols, and perhaps by my own description in *Half the Battle* of the sign (◌့) as indicating a falling tone accompanied by a check.

What is a Burmese tone? In the article above referred to Sir George Grierson defines a tone as "a relatively fixed musical pitch, or change of pitch, inherent in a word, and necessary for its significance". For general linguistic purposes I do not think this definition can be bettered. It is wider than mine ("variation of pitch") in *Half the Battle*, for I was dealing only with the Burmese language, in which initial pitch has no significance, whereas Sir George's definition covers Chinese and other tones in which initial pitch is as significant as change of pitch. In fact his definition might be completed by saying that in some languages the meaning may be more limited; in Burmese, for instance, the meaning is changed only by variation, or absence of variation, of pitch within the word, and not by a change in initial pitch as between words.

The Burmese Phonetic Reader does not define tone, but it says:—"Intonation is a very essential element in Burmese speech, every word being pronounced with its own pitch." This is inaccurate, as initial pitch makes no difference to the meaning in Burmese any more than in English. It adds:—"Change of pitch results in change of meaning." This is ambiguous. Change of pitch as between words makes no difference to the meaning, but change of pitch within a word may do so. No doubt the authors meant the latter, thereby tacitly accepting my definition.

For our purposes, then, a tone is variation, or absence of variation, of pitch within a word. So far as the tone is concerned, the sound marked (◌့) differs in no way from one marked (း) in Burmese writing and (ꩻ) in the Phonetic Reader. The Common expression "checked tone"

(not used in either the Phonetic Reader or *Half the Battle*) is meaningless, as pointed out by me many years ago and by Sir George Grierson in the article already referred to. A stick may be yellow or brown, long or short, but to say that its colour is long is nonsense. Horses may be of various colours, and some are easily checked, but we do not speak of a horse as being of an easily checked colour. In the same way a Burmese vowel may have a falling, a level, or a rising tone, but to say that it has a checked tone has no meaning, whether Sir George Grierson's definition or mine be accepted.

I have read carefully Mr Wolfenden's article on the terminology of Burmese tones in the issue of this journal for December 1929, but I do not find that it helps us to think clearly on the matter. It does not mention Sir George Grierson's important article, or the substance thereof printed in Vol. I, Pt. ii, of the Linguistic Survey of India. Probably this volume of the Linguistic Survey had not been published when Mr. Wolfenden wrote his article.

In an attempt to settle the other question (the pronunciation of ်တ် and ်တ်) I have once more taken Burmans to the leading phonetic expert. The first time I did so was in 1907, when Dr. Sweet listened to Burmans pronouncing ဆတ် and decided that the final sound was a *t* pronounced without any explosion or off-glide; or, in the less technical language of *Half the Battle*, "half-suppressed." "Close air-passage with tongue as in E., but re-open silently." Similarly he decided that ဆိုက် and ဧဆာတ် were pronounced with an unexploded *k*. In 1918 Professor Daniel Jones found a Burman using a glottal stop instead of an unexploded *t*. He has now again listened to two Burmans, Maung Pe Than of India House and Maung Maung Tin, Indian Civil Service probationer, and again hears only a glottal stop. The only difference between ်တ် and ဲ့ , to his ear, is that the first sound is shorter and has a stronger closure, and is of varying tone whereas the second always has a falling tone. (It will be understood that we are now dealing with isolated words. Their pronunciation in a sentence is hardly relevant to the purposes of a dictionary.) Maung Pe Than says that in pronouncing ်တ် his tongue moves towards his teeth, and to me there seems to be in his pronunciation a difference in the degree of resonance, as if the air-chamber were altered in size or shape; but this difference must be assumed to be imagined by me, for even after I told Professor Jones of it he could not hear it. On the other hand when I pronounced ်တ် and ဲ့ to Prof. Jones, the former in the way laid down in *Half the Battle*, with my tongue touching the gum and silently withdrawn, he heard no glottal stop in ်တ်, and no difference between ်တ် and ဲ့ in the quality of the vowel, but a distinct *t* on-glide, or in other words the half-suppressed *t* described in *Half the Battle*, in ်တ်. Similarly in my pronunciation of ဧဆာတ် he heard no glottal stop, but the first part of a *k*.

The fact that I pronounce a Burmese sound in a certain way is, of course, no evidence that any Burman pronounces it in that way. But there seems some ground for believing that the Burmans heard by Dr. Sweet did so, and that an unexploded *t* and *k* are pronounced by the older generation of Burmans and a glottal stop by the younger, or at any rate the younger Rangoon Burmans. When I visited Rangoon two years ago I found a distinctly audible difference between the pronunciations of father and son, and ascertained by questioning them that the father touched the gum with his tongue, while his son did not. I had already accepted the glottal stop symbol, as used in the Burmese Phonetic Reader, as the best representation of the sound for the dictionary, bearing in mind the fact that the dictionary is for the future, and that it seems probable that the unexploded *t* and *k* will gradually die out Now, however, the question has been raised again by Mr. J. A Stewart, who thinks I was right and am now wrong. There seem rather to be two questions for the Sub-committee to decide, one of fact and one of expediency :—

1. Do most Burmans under 30 move the tongue forward in pronouncing တ် (by itself) so as to touch the gum ?

2. If so, should the authors of the dictionary recognize this as the standard pronunciation and represent the sound by a small (ᵗ) written above the line, or should they take the pronunciation of the younger Rangoon Burmans (or some of them) as the standard of the future, and represent တ် by (ˀ), as a glottal stop ?

The representation of the final sound of အောက် would, of course, follow on that of တ် , and would be either (ᵏ) or (ˀ).

I consulted Professor Jones regarding some other points which concern the dictionary. It seems best to write အ§, အောင်-a͡ , -a͡ , as in the Phonetic Reader. It is true that a nasal consonant is added when certain sounds follow, but whether it be *n*, *m*, or ŋ depends on those sounds, and not on the letter used in Burmese writing. Professor Jones carries his objection to diacritical marks so far that he is inclined to prefer \lãŋ for လံး in place of \la͡ ; the ŋ being understood to be not an additional sound, but a convention employed (instead of a diacritical mark) to indicate the nasalization of the vowel. This, however, is not the practice of the Association, and I do not recommend it.

Professor Jones prefers ʃ to ɕ for ရ, on the ground that the sound of ရ is sufficiently near to that of ʃ to be represented by ʃ ; that in other languages several varieties of the sound are all represented by ʃ ; that in accordance with the Association's principles a new symbol should not be invented when an old one will serve the purpose ; and that the old one does serve the purpose in this case, as the cardinal sound it represents does not exist in Burmese. I agree.

For ဈ, unvoiced and voiced, he preferable c to tʂ and ʤ to dʐ for similar reasons and because a single symbol, when it can be suitably used, is preferable to a digraph. This is a question for a phonetic expert (except that a single symbol is obviously more convenient than a double one), and I think his recommendation should be accepted.

For the aspirated forms of p, t, k, s, c Professor Jones, in order to avoid the use of a diacritical mark, would write ph, th, kh, sh, ch in preference to the p̊, t̊, k̊, s̊, c̊ used in Jaschke's Tibetan Grammar and in books on Chinese. The practice appears to me misleading to readers, who would naturally pronounce a p, etc., followed by an h. As in the case of the nasals, the advantage of keeping to the general "one sound, one symbol" seems to me easily to outweigh any objections to diacritics. The question is admittedly not one of phonetics, but a practical one in which a layman is entitled to an opinion. I am decidedly in favour of p̊, t̊, k̊, s̊, c̊.

It will be seen that most of the points raised by Mr. Reynolds in his review of the Phonetic Reader for this journal (August, 1927) have been dealt with here, and will have to be decided by the Sub-committee.

R. GRANT BROWN.

NOTE.

I have seen Mr. Grant Brown's article in proof. There has been no opportunity for the Dictionary Sub-Committee to consider it.

The Sub-Committee's latest decision on the representation of tones —or what are usually and conveniently called tones—contained in the Minutes of its Meeting of the 20th October 1929, was to adhere to the use of dots or circles, as in Burmese.

As regards the distinction between the sounds typified by ဒ့ and တ်, I do not think I ever said that in pronouncing တ် the tongue necessarily touched the upper gums but in producing the final တ် sound, the tip may touch and is never far away from the gum. The thinner the vowel sound —*e.g.* ဒြ် the more apt there is to be an actual contact. And if you get a Burman to pronounce ဒ့ and တ် successively, as in demonstrating the difference of sound, more often than not, at the conclusion of the တ် sound, his tongue will be touching the gum. In pronouncing ဒ့ , contact has to be avoided. It seems to me significant that, where as in ဒ့ပါ် the ပ of ပါ် is softened to *b*, in တ်ပါ် it remains hard.

J. A. S.

Mr. Grant Brown is not correct when he says (under section 9) "that the Phonetic Reader places (ˈ) among the tones, and not among the consonants like its sister (ʔ)." Both these signs are treated as tones under Toneme I (*a*) and (*b*) on page 21 of the Reader. The description of the latter sign on page 13 under the heading *Stop* is apparently responsible for the mistake.

I accept Mr. Grant Brown's definition of pitch in the next but one paragraph, where he points out the ambiguity in the use of this word. The transliterations of the texts in the Reader clearly show that initial pitch makes no difference to the meaning. Ambiguity would not have arisen if tone had been used instead of pitch in the two sentences under discussion.

Mr. Grant Brown has an interesting discussion on the nature of the Burmese final sounds in ် and ် and finds some ground for believing "that an unexploded *t* and *k* are pronounced by the older generation of Burmans and a glottal stop by the younger, or at any rate the younger Rangoon Burmans." I am myself not prepared to make such a clear-cut division. I am sure that there are fathers who pronounce these final sounds as glottal stops and sons who pronounce them as unexploded *t* and *k*, the difference between these two ways of pronunciation being so subtle.

And I do not think that Mr. Grant Brown's prediction "that the unexploded *t* and *k* will gradually die out" will come true, so long as Burmans continue to speak English as well as Burmese. On the contrary, the probability is that they will be revived, if they have not survived the glottal stop. For Burmans who have a more or less correct pronunciation of English will have acquired the English habit of pronouncing final consonants to such an extent that this habit will unconsciously have its influence on their pronunciation of their own Burmese final sounds. One of the ways in which an Englishman betrays himself in speaking Burmese is the way in which he tends to explode the final consonants, because such a habit of pronunciation is natural to him in speaking his own language. Now since under present conditions more of the younger Burmans than of the older generation speak English, it is the former rather than the latter, that will come most under the English influence and keep alive the final *t* and *k*.

P. M. T.

PROCEEDINGS

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1930

ROLL OF MEMBERS.

In presenting its report for the year 1930, the Executive Committee is glad to be able to record, for the first time for some years, an increase in the number of Members of the Society. During the year an effort was made to gain new Members by issuing a large number of circulars and subsequent reminders ; and although the response was not as large as was hoped for, it did result in the enrolment of thirty-five Ordinary Members and one Life Member, whom we are glad to welcome to our ranks. On the other hand, fifteen Members resigned, while the Committee has also regretfully to record the loss of three of the oldest Members of the Society through death. There was thus a net increase of fifteen Members. The present Membership consists of

Honorary Members	2
Corresponding Members ..	6
Life Members	58
Ordinary Members	187
Total ..	253

This total of 253 Members compares favourably with the total of 235 a year ago, and though it appears to compare unfavourably with the total of 344 in the previous year, it nevertheless represents a more satisfactory position, since all the Members now on the roll have actually paid their subscriptions, whereas the roll for 1928 contained a large number who had not.

At the same time, it is obvious that the position of the Society is far from satisfactory. It is a melancholy reflection that in the whole of Burma there are only two-hundred and fifty people who are willing to support the work which this Society is endeavouring to carry out. The Society's work is, one hopes, not entirely valueless, but the support which it receives is sadly little. The Society needs more Members, for without greater assistance it will find difficulty in carrying on its work. The production of the new Burmese Dictionary, in particular, is likely to be a heavy drain on the Society's resources, and this surely most useful undertaking cannot be carried to completion without a more generous response to the Society's appeals. It would be a matter for the deepest regret if the work of the Society in this and other directions were abandoned.

Particularly regrettable is it that so many of the oldest Members of the Society have ceased to take an interest in its affairs.

The reasons for this state of affairs it is not easy to see. A common criticism is that the Society is too much in the hands of men connected with the Rangoon University. Yet, in so far as there is any justification for this criticism, the situation which produces the criticism is due to the indifference of the critics themselves. It is true that members of the University occupy a not inconsiderable proportion of the offices of the Society, but these labours have devolved on them because of the unwillingness of others to do the work, and the duties—somewhat thankless duties—which are thus carried out, would be gladly handed over to others, if there were others willing to undertake them.

OBITUARY.

The Executive Committee regrets to have to record the deaths of the following Members :—

Sir Guy Rutledge,
Mr. Taw Sein Ko,
U Po Yee.

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF COMMITTEES.

The Officers and Members of Committees elected at the last Annual General Meeting held their respective offices throughout the year, with the exception of the Honorary Librarian, whose duties during his absence from Burma were performed by the Honorary Secretary.

MEETINGS.

A General Meeting of the Society was held on the 26th of September when Dr. Coggin Brown, O.B.E., D.SC., F.G.S., read a paper entitled "Relics of the Stone Age in Burma"—a paper based on material collected by the late Mr. J. C. Mackenzie, one of the original Members of the Society and a past Secretary. Dr. Coggin Brown's paper was followed by a lecture by Lt.-Col. L. A. Hodgkinson Lack, M.B., Ch.B., I.M.S., on "Paleolithic Man in Burma". The Meeting was well attended and may be considered one of the most successful meetings held in recent years.

The Executive Committee met on five occasions during the year, on the 14th of January, the 7th of March, the 1st of July, the 31st of July, and the 27th of November. The following table shows the attendances of Members of the Committee :—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice W. Carr,	..	4 — 4
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice U Ba,	..	5 — 1
Mr. J. S. Furnivall, ..	..	5 — 4
Prof. Pe Maung Tin, ..	..	5 — 4
Mr. B. R. Pearn, ..	..	5 — 5
Mr. A. Cassim, ..	..	5 — 3

Mr. G. H. Luce,	....	....	5 — 1
U Shwe Zan Aung,	....	....	5 — 0
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice U Mya Bu,		....	5 — 0
Mr. C. W. Dunn,	....	....	5 — 2
Prof. W. G. Fraser,	....	....	5 — 1
Mr. S. G. Grantham,	....	....	5 — 4
Prof. D. G. E. Hall,	....	....	4 — 2
Dr. H. I. Marshall,	....	....	5 — 0
U Tun Pe, ...	....	....	5 — 4
U Po Sein,	....	....	5 — 0
U Set, ...	....	....	5 — 0
Mr. D. J. Sloss,	....	....	5 — 0
Mr. Meer Suleiman,	....	....	5 — 3
U Tin, ...	....	....	5 — 0

Of the General Committee, U Thein Gyi, Mr. Langham Carter, and U Tha Kin were able to attend Meetings.

The Meetings of the Executive Committee were held in the buildings of University College, and the General Meeting on the 26th of September was held at the Medical College. The Executive Committee wishes to record the thanks of the Society to the Principals of these Colleges for providing accommodation on these occasions.

SUB COMMITTEES

(*a*) *Text Publication Sub-Committee.*—The following were the members of the Sub-Committee for the year 1930 :—

1. Prof. Pe Maung Tin, M A., B.Litt., I.E.S. (*Chairman*).
2. J. S. Furnivall, Esq., M.A., I.C S. (*retd.*)
3. G. H. Luce, Esq., M.A., I.E.S.
4. U Tun Pe, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., M L.C.
5. U Po Sein, A.T.M.
6. U Tin, K.S.M , A.T.M.
7. U Po Kya.
8. Mr. A. Cassim, B.A. (*Secretary*).

Prof. Pe Maung Tin served as the General Editor of the Series throughout the year.

During the year under report a critical edition of the popular work U Ponnya's Myittaza was brought out under the editorship of Saya Yeik. The work has been well received by the public.

Two valuable manuscripts entitled Theninga-Byuha-Kyan by Letwethondara and Tayok Thanyauk Mawgun by Nawade were copied at his own expense by U Sein, Head Clerk, Dictionary Office, Magwe, and forwarded to the Text Publication Sub-Committee for such use as it might think fit. The Sub-Committee desires to thank U Sein for his public spirit.

At the instance of Mr. J. A. Stewart, M.A., I.C.S., copies of the following manuscripts were obtained for the Sub-Committee at a cost of Rs. 25-8-0. (1) Theninga-Byuha-Hmatsu, (2) Mwelun Yagan and (3) Ngwedaung Yagan.

All the above manuscripts are being studied and collated with a view to publication eventually.

Two important works have gone to press and are already in an advanced proof stage. They are Mahathilawa Pyo edited by Saya Lin, A.M.P., and the second volume of Maung Kala's Mahayazawingyi edited by Saya Pwa.

The Text Publication Fund opened the year with a balance of Rs. 875-0-11. Income from different sources amounted to Rs. 176-12-9, and the expenses amounted to Rs. 215-7-0. The year closes with a balance of Rs. 836-6-8.

(*b*) *Dictionary Sub-Committee* —The following were the members of the Sub-Committee for the year 1930:—

1. C. W. Dunn, Esq.
2. J. S. Furnivall, Esq.
3. Prof. Pe Maung Tin
4. U Tin
5. U Kyi O
6. C. Duroiselle, Esq.
7. H. F. Searle, Esq.
8. J. A. Stewart, Esq. (Hon. Secretary).

The work now in hand consists of—

(1) Collection of words from classical works not yet dealt with.
(2) Collection of words from modern Pyazats and magazines.
(3) Collection of words from the colloquial language.
(4) Arrangement of slips in exact alphabetical order by the Dictionary clerk.

As regards (1), poetry is being dealt with as published. Publishers' lists are watched and the new edition of U Tin's Kabyabandathara Kyan will be looked through for metrical and other technicalities when it appears. Some of the publications of the Burma Education Extension Association will also be dealt with.

Under (2), the Dagon and Kawi Myet-hman Magazines have been regularly read for six months and four months past respectively and are still being read. Words have been collected from the conversational passages in some eighty pyazats.

Under (3), slips containing colloquial words are being received at the rate of about 300 a month, the total to date being 3,562. The words

recorded include dialectical words and words relating to trades and occupations, besides rare words and proverbial expressions which happen to strike the recorder as noteworthy. Arrangements are now being made to publish a selection of these words monthly in the Sun Newspaper in the hope of stimulating interest.

Under (4), progress is necessarily slow. Slips as received have to be arranged roughly in alphabetical order and this part of the work is up to date. Slips under the vowels except ಅ have been arranged in exact alphabetical order, as also have those under the consonants ಂಃಕಖ and ಙ. The exact arrangement of slips under ಅ and the remainder of the gutturals is now to be undertaken, and will, it is hoped, be completed in six months.

JOURNAL.

Two numbers of the Journal for the year 1930 have so far been published. It is hoped that Part 3, which is to take the form of an Index to the first twenty Volumes of the Journal, will appear shortly. The work of preparing the Index has been undertaken by Mr. Meer Suleiman, whose labours call for the warmest expression of thanks on the part of the Society.

The gap in Volume XIV has at last been filled by the publication of Part 3 for the year 1924. The project of making this number a second "Chines Number" was abandoned owing to the difficulty of obtaining the necessary Chinese type, and a number of a general nature was therefore issued.

It is unfortunate that more Members do not contribute to the pages of the Journal. In some cases Members appear to be unduly diffident about sending contributions, and also many have not the leisure for writing long articles. The Editor, however, would welcome contributions, whether in the form of articles or in the form of short notes.

LIBRARY.

The Society's Library is still housed in the premises of the University Library on the University Estate. The number of volumes now in the Library is 2,360, the additions during the year under review numbering ninety-five. These additions consist of—

Presentations by Government	7
Presentations by private persons and public bodies	11
Additions by exchange	77
Total ..	95

FINANCES.

(a) *Receipts.*—The income of the Society from different sources was Rs. 6,591-13-8. Added to the cash balance of Rs. 3,020-0-3 brought forward from last year the total amounts to Rs. 9,611-13-11.

On the receipts side mention should be made of a sum of Rs. 109-8-0 being the proceeds of duplicate works in the Society's Library sold to the University Library. "The Glass Palace Chronicle" continues to be as popular a work as ever. Its sale-proceeds during the year amounted to Rs. 145-4-0.

(b) *Expenditure.*—The total expenditure for the year was Rs. 8,781-8-6.

With the sanction of the Executive Committee the Society contributed a sum of Rs. 1,000 to the Dictionary Fund in February last and made an advance of another Rs. 1,000 in July 1930 for the expenses of the Dictionary Sub-Committee.

As foreshadowed in last year's Annual Report, economy in expenditure has been effected in the printing of the Journal, three issues of which appeared during the year at a cost of Rs. 1,094 as against Rs. 1,850 in 1929, Rs. 2,927 for 4 issues in 1928, and Rs. 1,599 in 1927.

The closing balance for the year is Rs. 830-5-5.

(c) *Investments.*—The Government of India 6 per cent. Bonds for 1930 for Rs 4,500 held by the Society matured during the year and were re-converted to the new 6 per cent. 1933-36 Bonds. The Savings Bank Deposit of Rs. 2,000 with Messrs. Dawsons Bank was closed, and a sum of Rs. 2,000 was withdrawn from the Society's current account at the Imperial Bank, Rangoon, and the whole invested in the purchase of the same securities. The Society therefore holds Government of India 6 per cent. 1933-36 Bonds to the value of Rs. 8,500. The securities are deposited with the Agent, Imperial Bank, Rangoon, for safe custody and realization of the interest due on them.

Other investments of the Society are three items of fixed deposits with Messrs. Dawsons Bank amounting to Rs. 4,000 and Post Office Cash Certificates of face value Rs. 6,000. (Please see statement of investments attached).

I.—*Government of India 6 per cent. Bonds 1933-1936* —

Amount invested .... Rs. 8,500

Securities in the custody of the Agent, Imperial Bank, Rangoon.

II.—*Post Office Cash Certificates.*—

Face value .... Rs. 6,000

III.—*Fixed Deposits with Dawson's Bank.*

(1) Amount deposited .... Rs. 2,000
Rate of interest .... 5 per cent.
Period of deposit .... One year.
Date of realisation .... 8th February 1931
Deposit Receipt No. B290, dated the 8th February 1930.

(2) Amount deposited .... Rs. 1,000
Rate of interest .... 4 per cent.
Period of deposit .... Six months.
Date of realisation .... 13th March 1931
Deposit receipt No. B622, dated the 13th September 1930

(3) Amount deposited .... Rs. 1,000
Rate of interest .... 5 per cent.
Period of deposit .... One year.
Date of realisation .... 7th May 1931
Deposit Receipt No. B503, dated the 7th May 1930.

Rangoon, the 23rd January 1931.

B. R. PEARN,
Honorary Secretary.

BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Annual Accounts for 1930.

Receipts	Amount.			Payments.	Amount.		
	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
Opening Balance	3,020	0	3	Clerk's pay	360	0	0
				Peon's pay	204	0	0
Members' subscriptions ..	3,015	8	0	Printing of Journals, 3 issues ..	1,094	0	0
				Books, periodicals, etc. ..	17	14	0
Interest on investments ..	865	9	8	Postage stamps	277	3	0
				Book binding	567	2	0
Sale of Journal	441	0	0	Society's Subsidy to Dictionary Fund	1,000	0	0
Sale of Glass Palace Chronicle ..	145	4	0	Temporary Advance to Dictionary Fund	1,000	0	0
Postage recovered	15	0	0	Investment (6% Bonds 1933/36)	4,000	0	0
Sale of duplicate books to University Library	109	8	0	MISCELLANEOUS			
				Printing of forms, etc. ..	137	8	0
Fixed Deposit withdrawn ..	2,000	0	0	Advertising	10	0	0
				Typing fee	13	5	6
				Stationery	39	4	0
				Contingencies	61	4	0
				Total ..	8,781	8	6
				Closing Balance ..	830	5	5
	9,611	13	11		9,611	13	11
Text Publication Fund.				**Text Publication Fund.**			
Opening Balance	875	0	11	Copying fee ..	56	11	0
				Stationery ..	4	8	0
Royalties	124	11	3	Honoraria to editors ..	115	0	0
				Purchase of books of Text Publication Series	39	4	0
Sale of works of Text Publication Series	16	15	0	Total ..	215	7	0
Sale of Owada-tu-Pyo ..	35	2	6				
				Closing Balance ..	836	6	8
	1,051	13	8		1,051	13	8

Balance: —

	Rs.	A.	P.
At the Bank	1,654	7	1
In Honorary Treasurer's hand ..	12	5	0
TOTAL ..	1,666	12	1

Statement of Investments on 31st December, 1930.—

(1)	Government of India 6% Bonds 1933-36 ..	Rs. 8,500
(2)	Post Office Cash Certificates (face value) ..	,, 6 000
(3)	Fixed Deposits with Messrs. Dawson's Bank ..	,, 4,000
	TOTAL ..	Rs. 18,500

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting was held at University College (Commissioner Road) on Friday, January the 30th, 1931, at 6-30 p.m. the President, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice W. Carr, I.C.S., being in the Chair.

The Annual Report and accounts were accepted by the meeting, and the following amendments to the Rules of the Society were carried :—

(1) That the words "the Librarian" be *inserted* after the word "Treasurer" in Rule 19.
(2) That Rule 20 (*b*) *read* "to advise the officers of the Society on matters of procedure."

The election of Officers and Members of Committees was then proceeded with, and the following were elected ;—

PRESIDENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice W. Carr, I.C.S.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

S. G. Grantham, Esq., B.A., I.C.S.
J. A. Stewart, Esq., M.A., I C.S.
Prof. Pe Maung Tin, M.A., B.Litt., I.E.S.

HONORARY SECRETARY.

B. R. Pearn, Esq., M.A.

HONORARY TREASURER.

A. Cassim Esq., B.A.

HONORARY EDITOR.

Prof. Pe Maung Tin

HONORARY LIBRARIAN.

G. H. Luce, Esq., M.A., I.E.S.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

U Shwe Zan Aung, B.A., K.S.M., A.T.M.
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice U Ba, B.A., K.S.M.
R. R. Langham Carter, Esq., I.C.S.
C. W. Dunn, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.
Prof. W. G. Fraser, M.A., I.E.S.
J. S. Furnivall, Esq., B.A., I.C.S. (Retired).
Prof. D. G. E. Hall, D.Litt., F.R. Hist.S., I.E.S.
U Tha Kin
Dr. H. I. Marshall, M.A., D.D.
U Tun Pe, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.
U Po Sein, A.T.M.
D. J. Sloss, Esq., C.B.E., M.A., I.E.S.
Meer Sulaiman, Esq. M.A.
U Tin, K.S.M., A.T.M.
G. E. Gates, Esq., M.A.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

U Tha Dun Aung
J. Clague, Esq., C.I.E., B.A., I.C.S.
C. Duroiselle, Esq., M.A.
Major C. M Enriquez.
Rev. R Halliday, M.A
G. E. Harvey Esq., B.A., I.C.S.
U Hla, B.A.,
G. S. Jury, Esq , M.A
J. L. McCallum, Esq., M.A., I.C.S.
U Kyi O, B.A., K.S.M.
D. B. Petch, Esq., M.C., B A., I.C.S.
H. F. Searle, Esq , B.A., I.C.S.
L. F. Taylor Esq., B.A.
U Thein.
U Lu Pe Win, M A.

After the conclusion of the formal business of the meeting, Professor D. G. E. Hall read a paper entitled, "The Origin of the English Settlement at Negrais—an episode in Anglo-French relations in the East". The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to Professor Hall.

A Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Burma Research Society was held at University College (Commissioner Road), on Tuesday, July the 1st, 1930, at 6-30 p.m.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice W. Carr, I.C.S. (*President.*)
J. S. Furnivall, Esq.
Prof. D. G. E. Hall, M.A., I.E.S.
Prof. Pe Maung Tin, M.A., B.Litt., I.E.S.
Meer Sulaiman, Esq., M.A.
S. G. Grantham, Esq., B.A., I.C.S.
C. W. Dunn, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.
U Tun Pe, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.
Mr. B. R. Pearn, M.A. (*Hony Secretary*).

MINUTES.

1. Confirmed the minutes of the previous meeting held on March the 7th, 1930.

2. Resolved that the sum of Rs. 1,000, or as much as may be conveniently available, be advanced to the Dictionary Sub-Committee, pending a decision by Government on the Society's request for a renewal of its annual grant of Rs. 2,500; and that the Dictionary Sub-Committee be requested to exercise all possible economy in its expenditure.

3. Resolved to take no further action in respect of the correspondence with the authorities of the British Museum on the subject of the Society's publications.

4. Resolved that the Honorary Secretary take charge of the Society's Library during the absence of the Hon. Librarian.

5. Resolved that the next Annual General Meeting be asked to consider the following amendment to the Rules, *viz* :

(*a*) " that the words ' the Librarian ' be *inserted* after the word ' Treasurer ' in Rule 19 " and

(*b*) " that Rule 20 (*b*) shall *read* ' to advise the Officers of the Society on matters of procedure.' "

6. Considered the correspondence concerning the subscriptions of Sir James MacKenna and Mr. Dansen, and resolved that no relaxation of Rule 7, can be allowed.

7. Resolved to approach Mr. Coggin-Brown, with the request that he will read a paper before the Society at a Meeting to be held late in August or early in September, and that, failing Mr. Coggin-Brown, Professor Hall be approached.

8. Resolved that Professor Hall, and Professor Pe Maung Tin, be requested to consult with Mr. Meer Sulaiman on the subject of the Index to Vols. I to XX of the Society's Journal.

B. R. PEARN,
Honorary Secretary,

1st July 1930.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Burma Research Society was held at University College (Commissioner Road), on Thursday, July the 31st 1931, at 6-30 p.m.

PRESENT :

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Carr, I.C.S. (*President*).
Prof. Pe Maung Tin, M.A., B.Litt., I.E.S. (*Vice-President*).
S. G. Grantham, Esq., B.A., I.C.S.
Dr. H. I. Marshall, M.A., D.D.
Meer Suleiman, Esq., M.A.
A. Cassim, Esq., B.A. (*Hon. Treasurer*).
Mr. B. R. Pearn, M.A. (*Hon. Secretary*).

MINUTES.

1. Read and confirmed the minutes of the previous meeting held on July the 1st., 1930.

2. Considered letter No. 326X29 from the Government of Burma (Education Department), on the subject of the new Burmese Dictionary, and resolved—

(*a*) that the Society is prepared to present the copyright in the new Dictionary to Government, provided that Government undertakes to bear the expense of editing and printing as proposed in the Society's letter No. 68, dated the 6th. February 1930, and provided that Government agrees to renew for the current year the annual grant of Rs. 2,500;

(*b*) that it is desirable that 5,000 copies of the Dictionary be printed;

(*c*) that the price at which the Dictionary should be sold should be about Rs. 15 for the two volumes, in paper covers; but that in the event of Government taking over the copyright under the conditions proposed above, the fixing of the price would be in the hands of Government;

(*d*) that it is desirable that the printing of the Dictionary be carried out at the Government Press;

(*e*) that the Dictionary Sub-Committee be requested to prepare an estimate of its expenses during the current year, in two half-yearly estimates; and that the Society will endeavour to meet the needs of the Sub-Committee pending a decision by Government on the renewal of the annual grant.

3. Resolved to convert the Government of India 6 per cent. Bonds, 1930, which the Society holds, at the value of Rs. 4,500, to the new issue of 6 per cent. Bonds, 1933/36; to withdraw Rs. 2,000 now held in Dawson's Savings Bank and Rs. 2,000 on current account at the Imperial Bank of India, and invest these sums also in the new issue; to transfer Rs. 500 from current account in the Imperial Bank to the savings bank in the Imperial Bank; and to place also in the same savings bank Rs. 1,000 now on 6 months fixed deposit in Dawson's Bank and due to mature on September the 13th., 1930.

B. R. PEARN,
Honorary Secretary.

August 1st, 1930.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Burma Research Society was held at University College (Commissioner Road) on Thursday, the 27th November, 1930, at 6-30 p.m

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Carr, I.C.S. (*President*).
R. R. Langham Carter, Esq., I.C.S.
J. S. Furnivall, Esq.

Saya U Thein Gyi
Prof. D. G. E. Hall, M.A., D.Lit., F.R.Hist.S., I.E.S.
U Tha Kin
U Tun Pe, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.
Prof. Pe Maung Tin, M.A., B.Litt., I.E.S.
Mr. B. R. Pearn, M.A. (*Secretary*).

MINUTES.

1. Confirmed the minutes of the previous meeting held on the 31st July, 1930.

2. Considered Circular No. 12, on the subject of the proposed completion of the sets of periodicals in the Library, and resolved that the Secretary and Librarian draw up a list of missing parts in order of importance, and circulate the list with an estimate of the cost of replacement.

3. Accepted the proposals of (*a*) the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, (*b*) the Far Eastern Institute for Scientific Research, Vladivostock, and (*c*) the Institute of Applied Botany and New Culture, for an exchange of publications.

4. Recorded letter No. 326X29, dated the 28th August, from the Government of Burma (Ministry of Education), intimating Government's willingness to renew the annual grant of Rs. 2,500 towards the expenses of preparing the new Dictionary, for the current year.

5. Resolved that the Dictionary Sub-Committee be requested to formulate its programme of work for the ensuing year.

6. Resolved that the Annual General Meeting be held on Friday, the 30th January, 1931 ; and invited Professor Hall to read a paper on that occasion.

B. R. PEARN,
Honorary Secretary.

November 27th, 1930.

Minutes of a Meeting of the Executive Committee held at University College, (Commissioner Road) on Friday, January the 23rd at 6-30 p.m.

PRESENT :

J. S. Furnivall, Esq., B.A., I.C.S., (*retired*) in the Chair.
S. G. Grantham, Esq., B.A., I.C.S.
Prof. D. G. E. Hall, D.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., I.E.S.
U Tun Pe, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.
U Po Sein, A.T.M.
Meer Suleiman, Esq., M.A.
Prof. Pe Maung Tin, M.A., B.Litt., I.E.S.
B. R. Pearn, Esq., M.A. (*Secretary*).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Furnivall was elected to the Chair.

MINUTES.

1. Confirmed the minutes of the previous meeting held on the 27th November, 1930.

2. Considered the proposal of the Senate of the University of Rangoon in Minute No. 10 of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee at their meeting held on 6th December, 1930, suggesting that the Burma Research Society should co-operate in the publication of Professor Hall's book "The Dalhousie-Phayre Correspondence" by publishing it serially in consecutive numbers of the Society's Journal;

Resolved that it would be preferable to publish the work in a single volume and that the Society would undertake its publication in book form provided that the University would guarantee it against serious loss by paying the Society, if requested to do so at any time not less than two years after publication, the sum of Rs. 2,000 (or actual cost of publication, whichever shall be less) minus actual receipts from sales, and, on such payment, taking over free of further charge the remaining copies of the work. Professor Hall was requested to put this suggestion before the Standing Committee of the Senate at their next meeting.

3. Considered the question of providing for the continuance of the work of the Dictionary Sub-Committee, and resolved to defer a decision on the matter till the next meeting.

4. Confirmed Circulars 21 of 1930 and 1 of 1931.

5. Considered the invitation of the Senate of the University of London to appoint a representative to the Third Anglo-American Conference of Historians, and resolved that it is regretted that it is impossible to appoint a representative.

6. Resolved to appoint Messrs. Furnivall, Hall, and Pe Maung Tin as a Sub-Committee to consider means of celebrating the twenty-first year of the Society's work.

7. Recorded the Society's appreciation of the work of Mr. Meer Suleiman in preparing the Index to the first twenty volumes of the Society's Journal.

8. Passed the Annual Report; and after considering the statement of accounts, resolved to request the Honorary Treasurer to supply a balance sheet; and resolved further to print copies of the Report and Accounts for distribution at the Annual General Meeting.

B. R. PEARN,
Honorary Secretary.

Rangoon, the 23rd January 1931.

Minutes of a Meeting of the Executive Committee held at Unviersity College (Commissioner-Road) on Thursday, February the 26th, at 6-30 p.m.

PRESENT :

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice W Carr, I.C.S (*President*).
Prof. Pe Maung Tin, (*Vice-President*).
A. Cassim, Esq. (*Honorary Secretary*).
Prof. W. G. Fraser
J. S. Furnivall, Esq.
Prof. D. G. E. Hall
G. S. Jury, Esq.
Dr. H. I. Marshall
Saya U Thein
B. R. Pearn Esq. (*Honorary Secretary*).

MINUTES.

1. Confirmed the minutes of the previous meeting held on the 23rd January 1931.

2. Elected the following members of the Executive Committee to be members of the Managing Sub-Committee for the year 1931:

J. S. Furnivall, Esq.
U. Tun Pe
U Po Sein.

3. Elected the following members of the Society to be members of the Text Publication Sub-Committee for the year 1931 :—

Prof. Pe Maung Tin (*General Editor & Chairman.*)
A. Cassim, Esq. (*Honorary Secretary.*)
J. S. Furnivall, Esq.
U Po Kya
G. H. Luce, Esq.
U Tun Pe
U Po Sein
U Tin

4 Resolved that Messrs. Furnivall and Pe Maung Tin be requested to enquire into the possibilities of editing and publishing the new Dictionary and to report as early as possible.

5. Resolved to communicate with U Sein Tin and Mr. G. H. Luce and to request them to consider reading papers at General Meetings to be held during the current year.

6. Resolved to request the Chief Secretary, Home and Political Department to order the initials "M.B.R.S." to be placed after the names of members of the Society in the Civil List.

7. Nominated Mr. Furnivall convenor of the Sub-Committee appointed by minute 6 of the Meeting held on the 23rd January.

8. Considered the list of Members who had not accepted the V.P.P's. containing subscription receipts, and resolved that they be invited to state whether they desire to continue their membership of the Society.

9. Resolved that the sum of Rs. 2,000 realised from a fixed deposit in Dawson's Bank and now lying in current account with the Imperial Bank be invested at fixed deposit in some bank to be selected by the President and the Honorary Treasurer ; and that the current account now maintained at the Imperial Bank be closed and a current account opened at some bank to be selected by the President and the Honorary Treasurer and that the fixed deposits of Rs. 1,000 each about to fall due be placed in savings bank account in Dawson's Bank.

10. Recorded Professor Hall's letter dated the 26th February 1931.

B. R. PEARN,

Rangoon, the 27th February, 1931.

LIST OF MEMBERS (Dec. 31st, 1930.)

Members are particularly requested to inform the Honorary Secretary of any change in their address.

* Life members.
† Corresponding members
‡ Honorary members.

* Adamson, Sir Harvey, c/o India Office, London.
Aiyar, N. C. Krishna, M.A., Professor of Physics, University College, Rangoon.
Aung, U Ba, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Hanthawaddy, Rangoon.
Aung, U Tha Tun, Assistant Judge, Tavoy.
Aung, U Shwe Zan, A.T.M., K.S.M., 85, Innes Road, Kemmendine, Rangoon.
* Ba, U, Income-tax Assessor, Mandalay.
Ba, The Hon'ble Justice U, B.A., K.S.M., Judge, High Court of Judicature, Rangoon
* Ban, U, Shwe, *Bar.-at-Law*, 15, York Road, Rangoon.
Baw, U Hla, K.S.M., I.S.O., District and Sessions Judge (retired), Bassein.
Baw, U Htoon, Banker, Akyab.
† Blagden, Dr. C. Otto, School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, London, E. C. 2.
Brookes, A., I.E.S., University College, Rangoon.
* Brown, G. E. R. Grant, I.C.S. (retired), c/o Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son, Ltd. Berkeley Street, Piccadilly, London, W.
Brown, R. R., I.C.S., Commissioner, Mandalay.
Bu, The Hon ble Mr. Justice U Mya, *Bar.-at-Law*, Judge, High Court of Judicature, Rangoon.
Bwa, U Ba, Private Warehouse Officer (Excise Dept.) 102, Oliphant Street, Rangoon.
†Cædes, G., Directeur del'Ecole Francaise d' extreme-orient, Hanoi (Indochine francaise).
*Carr, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice W., Judge, High Court of Judicature, Rangoon.
*Carroll, E. W., Imperial orest Service, c/o Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son, Ltd. Rangoon.
Carter, R. R. Langham, I.C.S., Office of the Chief Secretary to Government of Burma, Rangoon.
Cassim, A., Lecturer in Pali, University College, Rangoon.
*Chit, U Po, A.T.M., Subdivisional Officer, Meiktila.
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OBITUARY 1930.

The Hon'ble Justice Sir Guy Rutledge
Taw Sein Ko, Esq., C.I.E } Life Members,
U Po Yee

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CONTENTS.

RELICS OF THE STONE AGE IN BURMA.*

BY

J. COGGIN BROWN.

Introduction.

It is necessary to explain how I come to address the Burma Research Society on this subject. A short time ago Mr. Furnivall found amongst the papers left by the late Mr. J. C. Mackenzie, copies of correspondence with myself regarding a collection of stone implements which Mr. Mackenzie had collected in the Myingyan and Pakokku districts in 1913 and 1914 and which he sent to me for description. With his permission I exhibited the implements at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal early in 1914 and after photographing them I returned the collection to him. From the letters discovered by Mr. Furnivall it appears that Mackenzie had invited me to discuss the subject before your Society. I wrote however, in April 1914 that it would be premature to do so while so much fresh information was coming to light. It ought to be added that Mackenzie was the sole source of that information. I gave him full authority to publish my own brief descriptions of his specimens and their photographs if he cared to do so, writing that it might stimulate others to follow his excellent example and start collecting.

The point to be noticed is that Mackenzie was an enthusiatic collector and a keen student of the prehistoric archaeology of Burma. From Myingyan and Pakokku we next find him at work in Thayetmyo, where in two months he obtained sixteen neoliths, though it had taken him some years to gather together a little over a score in Upper Burma.

The intervention of the War put an end to his researches whilst his transference from the duties of a district administrator to the Income-Tax Office, later on, gave him no further opportunity of commencing them again. I am informed by his friend and colleague Mr. E. G. Pattle, now the Senior Warden of the Oil Fields, that it was Mackenzie's intention to publish his mature views on this subject, but as far as I know he did not do so before his most regrettable and premature death.

I can do little more than summarise briefly for you the present state of our knowledge on the Stone Ages in Burma, as my contribution to Mackenzie's memory, not because there is anything new to announce, but in the hope which I am sure he would have shared, that some member or members of your Society, may take up the work where he left it off.

Palaeolithic Remains.

It is very remarkable that with the single exception of certain specimens from the Yenangyaung Oil Field, Burma has failed to yield examples

* Read to a General Meeting of the Society on 26th September 1930.

of palaeolithic or chipped stone implements. In India proper these are common, particularly in Madras and the Southern Mahratta region, where they consist of massive rock fragments, generally of quartzite, worked into cleaving, smiting and perhaps digging implements, closely resembling the Early Stone Age artifacts of Northern and Southern Africa, of Central America and Europe. A few specimens have been found in the Central Provinces in Bihar and Orissa and in Rajputana. They occur in connection with the high level gravels, or the older alluvial deposits of rivers, or again, in association with the high level laterites of the Coromandel Coast. Only two cases are known in which palaeoliths have been found in direct association with the remains of extinct animals, one in the ossiferous gravels of the Nerbudda Valley and the other in the similar formations of the Godaveri. Both are believed to be of Middle Pleistocene age. In appearance and technique the Indian palaeoliths resemble those from the Chellean, Acheullean and Mousterian stages of the early Palaeolithic of Europe.

It is a most remarkable fact that though there is this precise similarity in form and design between the implements of Europe, India and other countries, and that although, as W. Theobald wrote in 1873, "apart from the indication afforded by the material (flint so commonly used in Europe not occuring in India), it would be difficult to say from shape and manufacture whether any particular implement of palaeolithic type had been manufactured in Kent or Kuddapah, or if a particular neolithic celt of greenstone was from the neighbourhood of the Son or the banks of the Shannon," as soon as we cross the Bay of Bengal, these Indo-European palaeolithic types completely disappear. Not a single specimen comparable with any of the typical Indian forms has ever been recorded as far as I know from Burma, the Shan States, Yunnan, Malaya or Siam, and there are no traces of the Indian Palaeolithic cultures in these countries.

Chipped Stone Implements in Burma.

In 1894 Dr. Noetling described a number of chipped flints which he found *in situ* on the well-known Red Bed of the Yenangyaung Oil Field. As to whether they were artificial or not, Noetling did not wish to express an opinion. He wrote, however,

> "that if flints of this shape can be produced by natural causes, a good many chipped flints hitherto considered as undoubtedly artificial products, are open to grave doubt as to their origin."*

Even this suspicion of antedating human existence, or, at any rate, of some prehuman ancestor capable of fashioning stone, back into the middle of the Tertiary period, met with much criticism. This need not

* "On the Occurrence of Chipped (?) Flints in the Upper Miocene of Burma." *Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 101-103.

be recapitulated here, beyond a bare statement of the fact that most of his critics did not agree with Noetling. He, however, published another paper in 1897 in which the femur of a Hippopotamus from the same locality, bearing evidence of facetting is described. Noetling did not contend that the facets on this bone *must* of necessity be man's handiwork, but he did hold that very serious objections were connected with the assumption of their production by natural or accidental causes. He, also, in the same paper, refers to the age of the beds as Pliocene.*

The Red Bed of Yenangyaung contains abundant remains of extinct mammals, ancestral elephants, rhinoceros, horses, hippopotami, giraffes, pigs, etc. These, according to palaeontological authority, point towards the age of the bed as corresponding with the middle Siwalik. This, in its turn, is believed to be the equivalent of the Pontian Stage of Europe, the upper part of the second of the three divisions into which Charles Lyell's classical " Miocene " and " Pliocene " are now divided by Continental geologists.

The whole of the voluminous literature on this subject was examined by Prof. H. C. Das Gupta in 1923. Having satisfied himself as to the age of the beds in question, he discusses at length the other points at issue. These are as follows :—

(1) Were Noetling's chipped implements actually *in situ* when they were found, and further,

(2) Are they of natural or of artificial origin ?

As regards the first question he concludes that there are very strong reasons for thinking that the chert pieces were found *in situ*. An examination of Noetling's specimens, now in the Museum of the Geological Survey of India in Calcutta led Das Gupta to remark, that it would not have been possible to come to a definite conclusion regarding their origin but for the presence of a representative of what was previously termed a " rectangular flake ", but which Das Gupta considers is better described as a rostro-carinate implement.

Das Gupta's final conclusions are best summed up in his own words, as follows :—" Thus, it is clear that we are here dealing not only with a human artifact, but with an implement which is possibly more primitive in pattern than the forms which are usually regarded as palaeoliths, and that there is not only nothing to doubt the artificial nature of the implements, but the nature of at least one of them shows unmistakably that it represents a cultural stage which, if not pre-Palaeolithic, is representative of the earliest Palaeolithic type, and we have in Burma evidence which

* " Note on a worn femur of *Hippopotumus irravadicus* from the Lower Pliocene of Burma." *Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 242-249.

may probably point to the existence of man in the Middle Siwalik or Pontian Time."*

Another Indian writer, Panchanan Mitra, in his work on "Prehistoric India and its place in the World's Cultures", accepts the Tertiary age and authenticity of the Yenangyaung implements classing them as Pre-Chellean and describing both them and various Indian remains, not as cases of doubtful Eolithic workmanship, but as unorganised instruments definitely shaped and used by man.†

Personally, although I am willing to admit that the Yenangyaung implements show traces of intelligent fashioning, I remain quite unconvinced that the primitive men who made them were contemporiares of the extinct mammalia of "Red Bed" times. In the words of Sir Edwin Pascoe "The Miocene or Pliocene age of Man in Burma based upon these finds which have been quoted so freely in various publications, remains not only unproven, but an extremely improbable hypothesis."‡ Even a cursory examination of the existing surface of the ground around the oil field reveals pieces of chipped flinty chert which are of undoubted human workmanship. They are common enough to fulfill what Dechelette has termed "the veritable criterion of intentional working", in that they reproduce constant and complex forms which constitute true industrial types, and, as the same authority has pointed out, the constant repetition of a complex form cannot but be the work of an intelligent being.

It may be true, as Das Gupta thinks, that Noetling's particular rostrocarinate type has not apparently got any representative on the overlying plateau, or rather, that such a type from this locality has not been previously described, but the reason for that probably lies in the fact that no one has systematically searched the plateau with this object in view. The whole question suffers from too much writing on too little field evidence.

The late R. C. J. Swinhoe, who like Mackenzie was an indefatigable collector, found on the Yenangyaung plateau, cherty implements with cones of percussion, made with fair skill, with the same patina, in the same vicinity and similar in every way to Noetling's specimens; in two instances flakes found apart could be fitted together. Some of these examples were identified by specialists in Europe as of undoubted human workmanship.

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* H. C. Das Gupta: "Indian Pre-History", *Journ. Dept. Sci., Calcutta University*, Vol. V., pp. 15, 1923.

† P. Mitra: *loc. cit.*, p. 124.

‡ Sir E. Pascoe: "The Oil Fields of Burma," *Mem. Geol. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. XL, p. 53 (1912).

The possibilities of the fortuitous occurrence of these objects on the surface of the Red Bed, of their transport to it by natural agencies, of their partial or total internment in its surface, are better known to the geologists of to-day than they were to those of Noetling's time.

The implications of the existence of primitive man in Middle Siwalik or Pontian times, are so far-reaching that any unbiassed observer is bound to preserve an open mind on the subject until it has been submitted to that further detailed investigation in the field which its importance demands.

Here is an opportunity for some member of your Society to settle a controversy of many years' standing, and to make a very definite contribution to the progress of pre-historic Archaeology in Burma.

It is highly probable that careful examination would reveal the existence of similar relics of the early Stone Age in the other districts of Central Burma such as Minbu, Meiktila, Myingyan, Pakokku, the Lower Chindwin and elesewhere. There are indeed, casual and unconfirmed reports of their occurrence in these areas ; but who the people were who made them, whence they originated or whither they were dispersed, remain unsolved mysteries, as also do their position in the time scales laid down for their contemporaries in other lands, and, the details of their own anatomical peculiarities.

The only conclusion possible from the extremely scanty remains of their handiwork which they have left behind them, is that the primeval races who lived in Burma show nothing in common with the earliest inhabitants of India,—" Separation " apparently existed many thousands of years before the commencement of those traditional and written records of the human race which are termed history.

Polished Stone Remains.

We have seen that in India proper the relics of the Palaeolithic races are localised to a great extent in the south, but the artifacts of the Neolithians are spread over a much wider area. Though they are distributed across a large part of Southern India, they also occur all along the ranges which border the Gangetic plains on the south ; they are very prevalent in Bundelkhand, in certain parts of the United Provinces and in the northern districts of the Central Provinces. Recorded instances of their occurrence relate to Gujarat and Sind, the Punjab and Rajputana. A few finds have been reported from the Gangetic Alluvium, the outer Himalayas, Baluchistan, the Assam Valley and the Naga Hills. They consist of a great variety of types—no less than 73 distinct ones are to be found in the Madras Museum alone, ranging from celts and chisels to pestles and scrapers, not to mention palettes for working up rouge, the fore-runner of the modern lip-stick.

No student appears to have investigated the distribution of Neolithic implements in Burma, but specimens are known to have been found in most of the districts of the Tenasserim, Pegu and Arakan Divisions. Mackenzie proved their presence in Thayetmyo and Myingyan. They are known to be widely spread across the Shan States, the frontier districts and Yunnan. There is little doubt that they would be found in the intervening gaps if careful search was made for them.

In the Southern Shan States a few months ago I met a traveller who was buying all the specimens he could obtain, not for the National Museum of Burma but for the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford.

Unsatisfactory though our knowledge of their distribution in this country is, sufficient examples have been obtained to prove that as in the case of the palaeolithic artifacts, there is little in common between Burmese Neolithic celts and those found in India. Theobald again was the first to notice this. As he showed, the main points of divergence are :—

(*a*) the frequency of forms possessing " shoulders " a peculiarity quite confined to articles from the Burmese or Malayan area.

(*b*) the cutting edge being usually formed by grinding down one side, as a chisel and not as an axe.

(*c*) by the general small size and apparent inefficiency for any rough purposes.

Just as much uncertainty exists to-day as it did in 1870, about the uses to which these celts were put, for as Theobald wrote, the " very tradition of the tribes who made them has vanished from the existing population." Some of the implements may have been used in the chase, or perhaps in the form of a rough tomahawk ; for many of them, if fixed in a stout handle and wielded by a powerful arm, would suffice to fell either a man or an animal the size of a deer or hog. They may have been employed to excavate the stem of a tree after the wood had been rendered friable by charring. The small implements were probably fitted lengthwise into a handle and used as a spud for digging holes in the ground for rice and other seeds, or for purposes of weeding.

Distribution of the Shouldered Celt.

As a matter of fact Theobald was incorrect in stating that the shouldered adze is confined to Burma, for it has been found in Dhalbhum and in Cachar, in the highlands of Bengal and Assam respectively. Sir Arthur Phayre pointed out long ago that there is a similiarity between the language of the Mons and that of the Mundas of Chota Nagpur. He believed that the occurrence of the shouldered celt in these two areas corroborated his arguments.

According to Das Gupta the occurrence of the Burmese types in Cachar, in areas through which the wave of Khasia immigration probably passed, is of extreme interest, and quite in conformity with the view so long held regarding a racial relationship between the Khasias of Assam and some of the older tribes of Burma, which has been based chiefly on linguistic grounds heretofore.

This problem, which involves the theory that the Mon Khmer-speaking peoples may be surviving remnants of one or other of the Neolithian tribes is still unsolved.

Mackenzie's Observations in Thayetmyo.

Mackenzie observed that the implements he collected in Thayetmyo —particularly the shouldered types, were much larger than any he had seen in Upper Burma. He thought that in Neolithic times there was a denser population in that part of Burma than in the Dry Zone further north. He remarked that " the implements were usually turned up by the plough when the cultivators ploughed their fields. It is hopeless to try to dig for them. The curious thing about finding so many in this district is that the locality where I have found most is one that is even now very sparsely populated and agriculturally is a very poor place. It may be that the people who used the implements were still in the pastoral stage, though I had formed the opinion in Myingyan that they were agriculturists. I hope by recording the localities in which the implements are found to be able to get some ideas as to the distribution and the way of living of the people who used them."

Burmese Prehistoric Bronze Implements.

Mackenzie also paid some attention to the neglected study of the remains of the Bronze Age in Burma. In this connection it is to be observed that so far as our existing knowledge goes, India as a whole passed through no period which can be rightly termed a Bronze Age, that in Southern India the Neolithic period progressed directly into the Iron Age while in Northern India a Copper Age intervened between the Neolithic Period and the Iron Age, for implements have been found, at least once in great numbers, all over Northern India " from the Hugli on the east to the Indus on the west, and from near the foot of the Himalayas to the Cawnpore district."*

After his arrival in the Thayetmyo district Mackenzie wrote to me as follows :—

> " I am trying to collect information about the bronze implements found in Burma. Indeed it is much more important that information should be collected about these than about the stone ones. For

* Mitra: *loc. cit.*, p. 283.

the stone ones are not perishable. But the bronze ones are believed to be much more efficacious as medicines and charms and part of a "thunder-wedge" has the same virtue as a whole one. So the implements are being cut up and sold. This has been going on for ages and as the supply is necessarily limited, whole specimens of these bronze implements are comparatively scarce. As the price they fetch is too high for me to be able to purchase them in large numbers, I have to be content with having drawings made and with recording all the available information about such specimens, as I can get news of. When I have done this for a considerable number I shall send you my notes and as many of the implements as I can get possession of."

Unfortunately I received neither, and I do not know whether Mackenzie left any specimens or notes about them amongst his possessions at his death.

Burmese bronze celts and spear-heads are objects of considerable artistic merit and great metallurgical skill. The few specimens which I have handled show marked affinities with forms collected by myself in Yunnan and with others illustrated in accounts of finds in Indo-China. In the absence of knowledge about them, it is useless to speculate on their age or on the migrations of their makers.

It may be well to point out to the interested student that there are excellent examples of Burmese prehistoric bronzes in private collections owned by Mr. A. H. Morgan and Major Enriquez of Mogok, by Mr. Allan Cameron of Kalaw and by Mr. J. St. Hill Cleburne of Katha.

These I believe to be worthy of description, illustration and permanent record in a Journal such as the one published by your Society.

Folk Lore.

Mr. Mackenzie's reference to the bronze implements as "thunder-wedges" raises the interesting question of the part played by prehistoric weapons of all kinds in primitive religion and folk lore, though only the briefest reference can be made to it here.

There is a curious world-wide belief associating all kinds of stone and bronze celts with thunder or with the sky. In some parts of England they are still called thunder bolts by the older generation of country folk. In Western China they are "thunder-wedges", in Burma "mo-jio" which is said to mean "thunder chain" or "thunder bolt". Being regarded by mankind in general therefore as celestial objects, they were, and are, naturally associated with occult properties and Theobald collected many Burmese beliefs about them. In Yunnan they are often kept in the family shrine with the ancestral tablet, they are ground to powder and used for medicine both by the Chinese and various frontier tribes,

but this is not the occasion to discuss a question which more properly forms an essay in primitive beliefs. It is none-the-less a remarkable thing that whereas a European rustic may wear a Neolithic arrow head mounted as a charm to avert the evil eye, a rural Oriental will carry one in his pocket because he believes it renders him invulnerable.

Conclusion.

Burmese prehistoric archaeology is in a very neglected condition, yet there are few subjects of research which offer results of greater interest and importance. It is my hope that the brief notes I have given you to-night will not only show the progress which J. C. Mackenzie was making as an original investigator in this field, until Fate decreed otherwise, but will also lead to some other observer taking up his self-imposed task. One of the branches which demands attention is the systematic examination of the cave deposits of Burma, which I have left out of consideration as I understand Lt.-Col. Hodsgkinson Lack proposes to invite your attention to it. But apart from this work which demands both technical skill and professional knowledge, there is the wider field for the regular collection, description and comparision of the Burmese stone cultures with those of other regions.

To assist any one who may be so inclined, I have obtained from Professor H. C. Das Gupta, a bibliography of all the earlier literature on Burmese prehistory and attach it as an appendix to this paper. Prof. Das Gupta has been engaged for some years in the preparation of a complete bibligraphy of Indian Prehistory in general and the thanks of your Society are due to him for his courtesy in permitting me to place the portion which deals with Burma before you. I have no hesitation in stating that its compilation would have been impossible in Burma, in the present state of the libraries of the Province. In all it contains a list of 33 separate communications in various British, Indian, French, and German publications.

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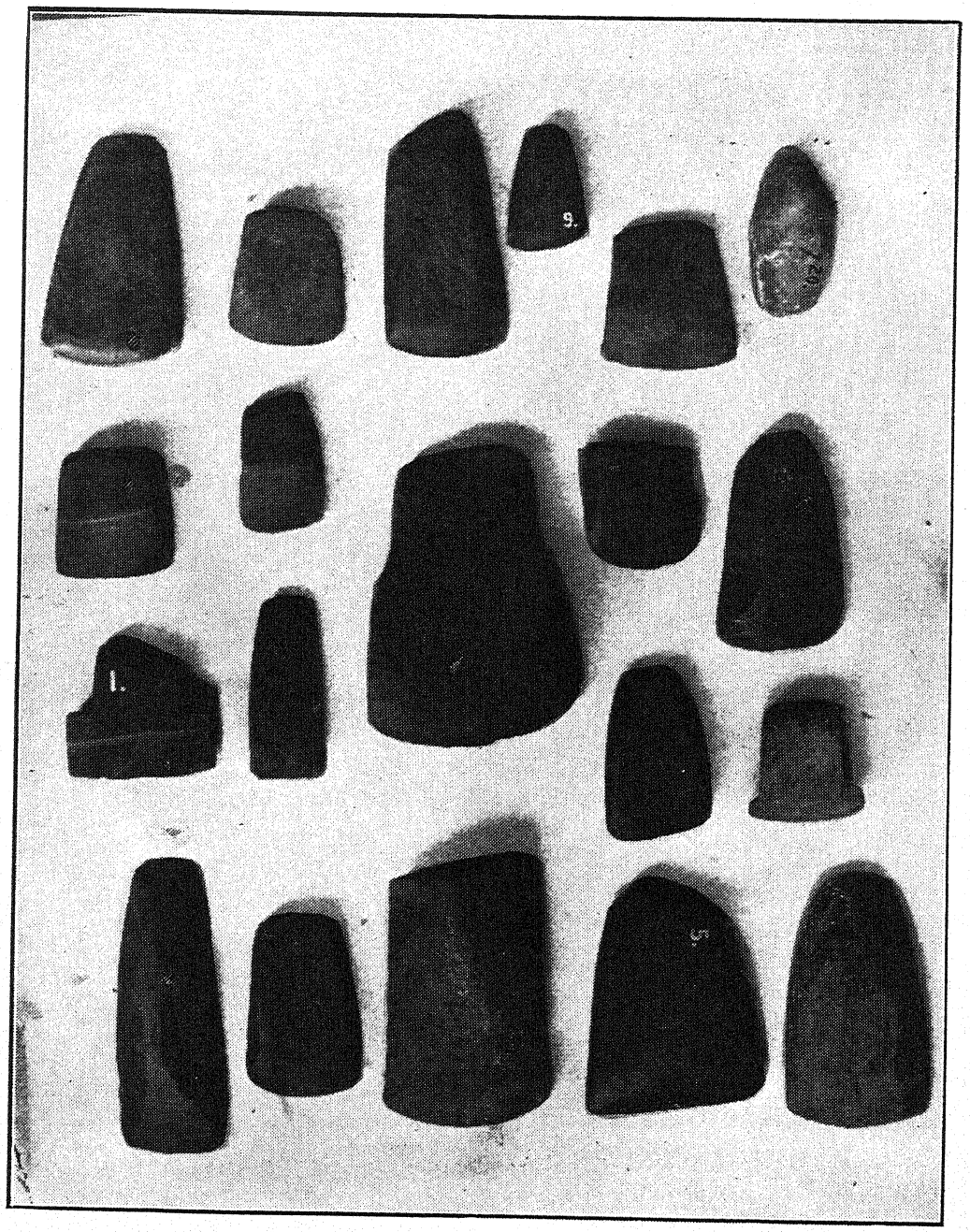
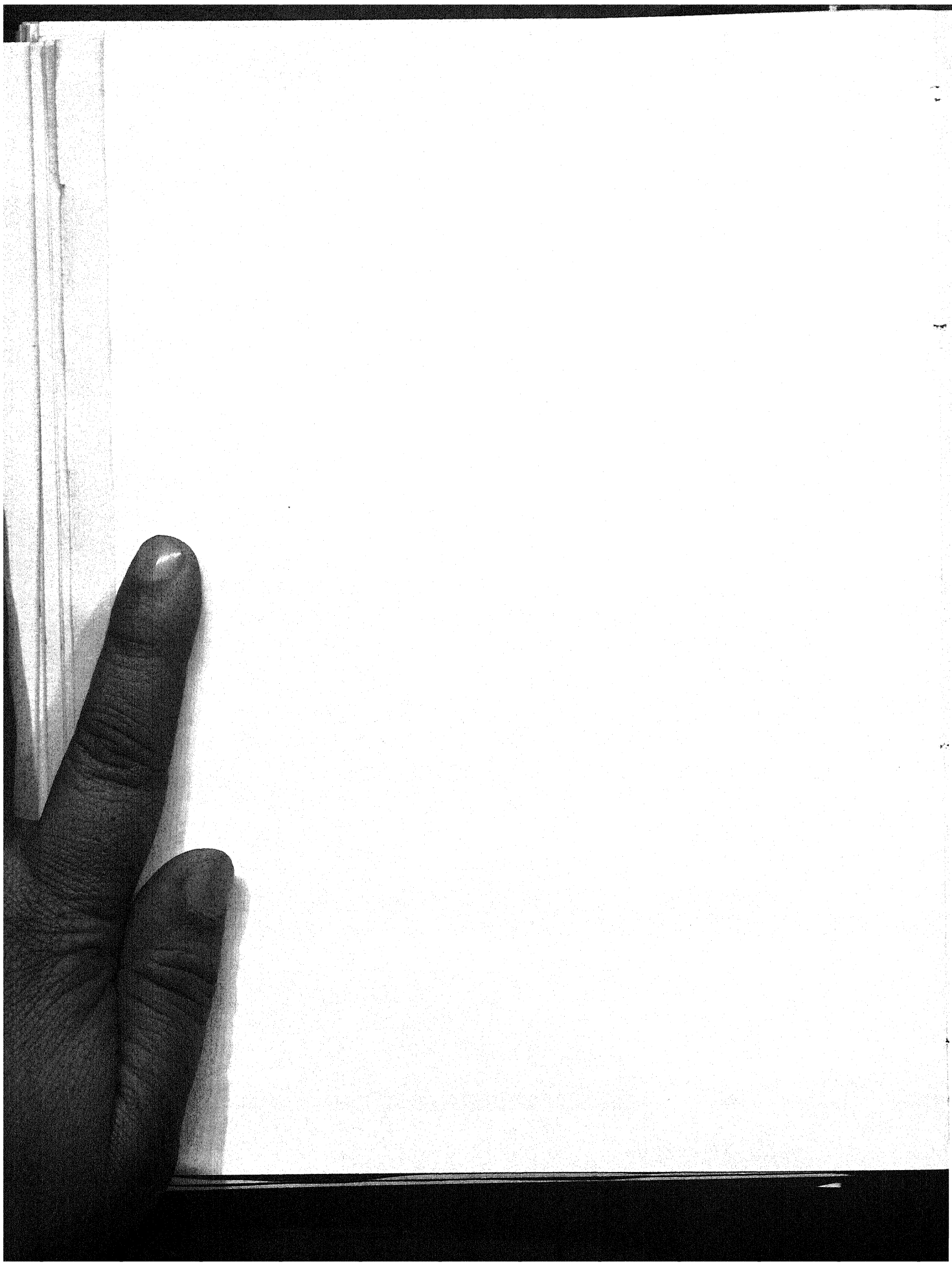


RELICS OF THE STONE AGE IN BURMA.
Neolithic Implements from Myingyan District. Collected by the late J. C. Mackenzie.



PALAEOLITHIC MAN IN BURMA.

BY

LIEUT.-COL. HODGKINSON LACK, I.M.S.

My note of what I am going to say on this subject is brief.

Time is divided into certain geologic divisions. These are as follows —1 Primary ; 2 Secondary ; 3 Tertiary, (*a*) Palaeocene, (*b*) Eocene, (*c*) Oligocene, (*d*) Miocene, (*e*) Pliocene ; 4 Quaternary, (A) Pleistocene (1) Glacial, (2) Post-Glacial, (B) Holocene.

Their relationship to each other and to the forms of life which have probably developed during them are shown on the screen in tabular form.

At the commencement of the Tertiary period in that portion of time known as the Palaeocene there appeared the earliest mammals followed during the Eocene by the appearance of the higher type of mammals, while in the succeeding Oligocene age there arose the earliest of the anthropoid apes.

Throughout the Miocene and the Pleiocene ages there developed these anthropoids and somewhere during these ages there appeared the unknown ancestor of Man.

Before the Anthropoids.

In other words we have to go right back to the Oligocene to find some kind of mammal which gave rise to the anthropoids and to man. Now towards the end of the Pliocene age there occurred the commencement of that period in the life of the earth when in its northern portion the climate was very much colder than it is at the present time. This period of time is known as the Pleistocene and is divided into Glacial and Post-Glacial stages and it was during these stages that the earliest kinds of pre-historic men have been found to develop, namely those known as Palaeolithic men in contrast with those known as Neolithic men who appeared on the scene later on.

The cause or causes of this Glacial stage are not understood clearly. We do know that they were associated with the existence of large masses of ice spreading from the tops of mountain ranges such as the Alps and the mountains of Norway and Sweden southwards into what we now call Great Britain, Germany and France. We know also that at certain portions of this period the climate was cold and dry, whereas at other portions the climate was cold and wet, and at again other portions the climate was much less cold, or, if you prefer it so, much warmer than at other times.

We are led to this knowledge by finding different kinds of animals in these different periods of time as evidenced by the remains of them which we find in different places at these corresponding periods of time. Now these names are merely names. Can we get a more concrete idea of the length of time which these ages represent?

The simplest way to get some conception of it is to state that the Pleistocene age (that is to say the Glacial age) alone may have lasted for anything from 100,000 to 840,000 years, a conservative estimate of it being that put on the screen now.

From this table it will be seen that some 500,000 years have passed since the appearance of the most primitive type of man, namely that known as Pithecanthropus Erectus. During this period of time many different types of pre-historic man have been proved to exist in different places and at different times and there is much diversity of opinion on the question of the exact subdivisions of the period at which these different kinds of pre-historic men appeared. This diversity is summarised in the table now shown on the screen. Put shortly, it means that there is a difference of opinion as to whether the earliest type of pre-historic man appeared in Europe 475,000 years or 375,000 years or only 150,000 years ago.

Now during this Glacial age the land connections of Europe were such as are shown on the screen now. That is to say there was direct continuity of land between what is now Great Britain and Ireland and France. In addition there was direct continuity of land between what is now called Spain and Morocco. So too there was direct continuity of land between what is now called Italy and Tunisia via what is now called Sicily. That is to say that Europe and its present islands were in direct land continuity with Central Asia. In a similar manner, there was direct continuity of land between what we now call the Malaya Peninsula on the one hand and the Islands now called Sumatra, Borneo, Java and the small island of Bali. In an identical manner there was direct continuity of land between what we now call Australia on the one hand and the islands of New Guinea, Celebes and Lombok on the other. The distance between Bali on the west and Lombok on the east is as little as fifteen miles at one point.

Ancestral Man.

Palaeontology teaches us that somewhere far away back in the late Miocene or else in the early Pliocene there must have been some kind of ancestral man, who was gradually evolved during the Oligocene and early Miocene from some ancestral stock, which gave rise to the Primates of the Old World including man and the anthropoid apes.

Again Palaeontology proves the association of man with other mammals, and so it is not unlikely that man came into being more or less in the same area as that in which these other mammals would appear to have arisen.

This association and the facts known at the present time appear to indicate that the area in which mammals, including man and the anthropoid apes developed is that which we now call the north-west of Tibet. From this point there appear to have been the following lines of migration of Palaeolithic man :—

(*a*) One line was along the direction west and by north more or less parallel with what we now call the north coast of the Mediterranean sea. The evidence of this line lies in the Anthropology of the men who have been found in Brunn, Ofnet Heidelburg, Neanderthal, Furfooz, Piltdown, and Cro-Magnon.

(*b*) One line was along the direction west and by south more or less parallel with what we now call the south coast of the Mediterranean sea.

The evidence of this line of advance lies in the Anthropology of the men who have been found in Broken Hill and Boskop and in the anthropoid found in Taungs (Australopithecus) and in the few remaining Bushmen of the present day. These appear to be south moving off-shoots of this section of Palaeolithic man now under consideration.

(*c*) One line was along the direction east and by north right across China and Siberia into what we now call the Americas, confirmation of which has been found in the more or less recent work of Davidson Black in connection with the discovery of Sinanthropus Pekinensis.

(*d*) One line was along the direction east and by south probably through what we now call Persia, India, Burma, Malaya, and Australia.

The evidence of this line of advance lies in the Anthropology of the men who have been found in Wadjak and Trinil in Java and in Talgai in Australia.

A glance at a map of the world will show that Burma lies in the direct line of the probable advance of this last section of Palaeolithic man and so it is not improbable that evidence of the presence of Palaeolithic man in Burma should be forthcoming.

But such evidence is remarkably scanty. It resolves itself into but two pieces.

The first of those was that adduced by Dr. Fritz Noetling of the Geological Survey. It was composed of certain flints found apparently

embedded in a ferrugineous conglomerate near Yenangyaung. In other words there appeared to be evidence of human agency in certain artefacts found in a deposit belonging at any rate to the latter part of the Miocene age. But the evidence is not irrefutable because the flints may have been of Pleistocene origin, or even of later age, and may have been accidentally washed on to, and have become embedded in, a denuded Miocene formation. The second of these pieces of evidence is that afforded by a fragment of bone, showing evidence of human workmanship, obtained from Mogok by Dr. Coggin Brown and possibly obtained from cave earths of Palaeolithic age. The identity of the animal to which this bone belonged has not been well established and until that is done it is impossible to be sure that it is in reality evidence of human workmanship carried out in Palaeolithic time.

Palaeolithic Man.

That is to say that there is no clear evidence as yet of the existence of Palaeolithic man in Burma.

But the following facts are suggestive : (1) There are large areas in Burma of apparently Pliocene age which do, as a matter of fact, yield evidence of the existence of late Tertiary mammals similar to those found in the Siwalik Hills in India even though up to the present time no evidence of primitive anthropoids similar to those found in the Siwalik Hills has yet come to light. (2) These apparently Pliocene areas are often overlaid by formations of deposits, necessarily later in time and perhaps Pleistocene in time, which may not unreasonably be expected to yield evidence of man similar to that afforded by the Pleistocene areas of Europe. More than that it is impossible to say at the present time. But bearing in mind the possibilities of the situation, it seems wise to ask that the following suggestions should be borne in mind:—

(1) If any specimen be forthcoming which might bear on the question of Palaeolithic man in Burma the following facts should be ascertained definitely about it (*a*) where exactly it was found. (*b*) In what relation to the surface of the ground, that is to say, on it, or embedded so many feet below the surface in such and such a kind of matrix. (*c*) In the latter event, was there in close proximity to it any other kind of thing of an allied nature ?

(2) Touring officers of the Local Government might be asked to interest themselves in the question of the finding of any fossils or of any artefacts in their districts. This would apply particularly to the districts along the Irrawaddy in its upper reaches and to those along the Chindwin and the Salween.

(3) Any persons or any firms engaged in excavation work should be asked to communicate at once with the nearest medical man if any bone or any fossilised bone of any description be found in the course of their work.

(4) It would be advisable to have some means of preventing any Palaeolithic specimens from leaving the province. The simplest way to do this would be to make export prohibitive by means of a short Act or it must be a regulation issued by the Government of India through the department of the geological survey. This is all the more necessary beause there is evidence that other persons, who set a right value on such specimens, have been buying them in Burma to take them out of the province. It appears that it is the duty of the province to keep such specimens for herself and at the same time to be willing to send duplicates, when they are found, to Museums of other countries.

Lantern Slide Demonstration.

The kinds of pre-historic man which may be found in Burma can be illustrated by the main types of pre-historic man which I now proceed to show you.

To begin with I put on to the screen Pithecanthropus Erectus. The figure shows a side view and a top view of the cranium of this Trinil pre-historic man. It is placed in what is called the standard frame in which one measures crania. Note that it falls far short of the top horizontal line which is reached by the average modern crania. Note also the thickness of the eyebrow ridges called technically the supraorbital torus.

Next I show you another diagram showing in sagittal section the crania of the Siamang (one of the Gibbon anthropoids), of Pithecanthropus and of a modern European to bring out more clearly the shallowness of the skull of Trinil man and the prominence of his eyebrow ridges when compared with the average modern European skull.

Next I show you a drawing of the lower jaw of Heidelberg man as compared with the lower jaw of the most primitive of modern men, namely the Australian Aboriginee. I cannot show you the cranium of Heidelberg man because we have never really found it, though we have a fairly shrewd idea of what it must have been like. At any rate, you can see the markedly receding "chin" of Heidelberg man in comparison with the fairly well developed chin of the modern Australian Aboriginee. Note also how thick and massive is the ascending ramus of the lower jaw of Heidelberg man in comparison with that of the modern Australian Aboriginee. Next I show you the cranium of Piltdown man in the same standard frame and you see that it appears to differ from that of modern man in but slight degree if at all; but look at what I now show you, which shows you the lower jaws of Piltdown man and of the modern Australian Aboriginee and you will realise that Piltdown man and Heidelberg man are not very dissimilar to each other in so far as their lower jaws are concerned, and therefore one is inclined to think that Heidelberg

man may have been something like Piltdown man in so far as his cranium was concerned. But he probably had a well marked supraorbital torus.

Next I show you this slide to give you some idea of what the cranium of Neanderthal man was like and to enable you to compare it at one and the same time with the crania of Pithecanthropus and of Piltdown man. You will see that Neanderthal man had a well developed supraorbital torus with a lower jaw something like that of Piltdown man and like that of Heidelberg man. But, whereas in Pithecanthropus the highest part of the cranium is at the Bregma, in Neanderthal and in Piltdown man the highest part of the cranium is well behind the Bregma. This means that that part of the brain which contains those centres which are concerned with the association of concepts is far more highly developed in Neanderthal man and in Piltdown man than it could possibly have been in Pithecanthropus. In other words Neanderthal man and Piltdown man were far higher types and not so very much less developed than modern man in so far as his brain is concerned. Please note that I use the word *brain* and not the word *mind*.

Wadjak Man.

Next I show you on the screen Wadjak man. He lived in Java in the Pleistocene period and was something like Heidelberg man. He appears to have been the successor of Pithecanthropus even as Boskop man appears to have been the successor of Rhodesian man. Of course Wadjak man lies very far away from Pithecanthropus in so far as development is concerned. He seems to be somewhere in point of development between Rhodesian man and Australian Aboriginee, but his brain was as large as that of Neanderthal man and of Cro-Magnon man.

Next I show you Talgai man. Note how his upper jaw pushes forwards outside of the standard frame. In order to appreciate this better I show you immediately this slide enabling you to contrast Wadjak man and the modern Australian Aboriginee on the one hand and Talgai man and the modern Australian Aboriginee on the other. In order words Wadjak man was less highly developed than the modern Australian Aboriginee in so far as his jaws were concerned even though his brain was bigger. Talgai man was less developed than the modern Australian so far as his jaws go even though his brain was about the same size.

Next I show you Rhodesian man, that is to say the man found at Broken Hill. Note the great development of the supraorbital torus. It is larger even than it is in the gorilla. He lived during the early part of the Pleistocene period and in some characteristics was like Neanderthal man.

Next I show you Boskop man. He is a pre-historic type, but he belongs to the same species as ourselves, that is to say, *Homo Sapiens*. He has nothing to do with *Homo Heidelbergenesis or Homo Neanderthalensis*, or with *Homo Dawsoni* (otherwise Eoanthropus or Piltdown man).

Major Divisions	Periods and Epochs		Advances in Life	Dominant Life
QUATERNARY.	HOLOCENE ..... PLEISTOCENE OR ICE AGE.	Recent alluvial. ..... **Postglacial Stage. Glacial Stages.**	Rise of world civilization Industry in iron, copper and polished stone **Extinction of great mammals. Dawn of mind art and industry.**	AGE OF MAN. IRON. BRONZE. AND NEW STONE AGES. **MEN OF THE OLD STONE AGE**
TERTIARY	PLIOCENE.	Late Tertiary	Transformation of man-ape into man	**AGE OF MAMMALS AND MODERN PLANT LIFE.**
	MIOCENE		Culmination of mammals.	
	OLIGOCENE	Early Tertiary	Beginnings of anthropoid ape life.	
	EOCENE		Appearance of higher types of mammals, and vanishishing of archaic forms.	
	PALÆOCENE		Rise of archaic mammals.	
LATE MESOZOIC	Cretaceous.		Extinction of great reptiles	**AGE OF REPTILES.**
			Extreme specialization of reptiles.	
	Comanchian.		Rise of flowering plants.	
EARLY MESOZOIC	Jurassic.		Rise of birds and flying reptiles.	
	Triassic		Rise of dinosaurs.	

PLACE OF THE OLD STONE AGE IN THE EARTH'S HISTORY.

(Indicated in heavy-face letter)

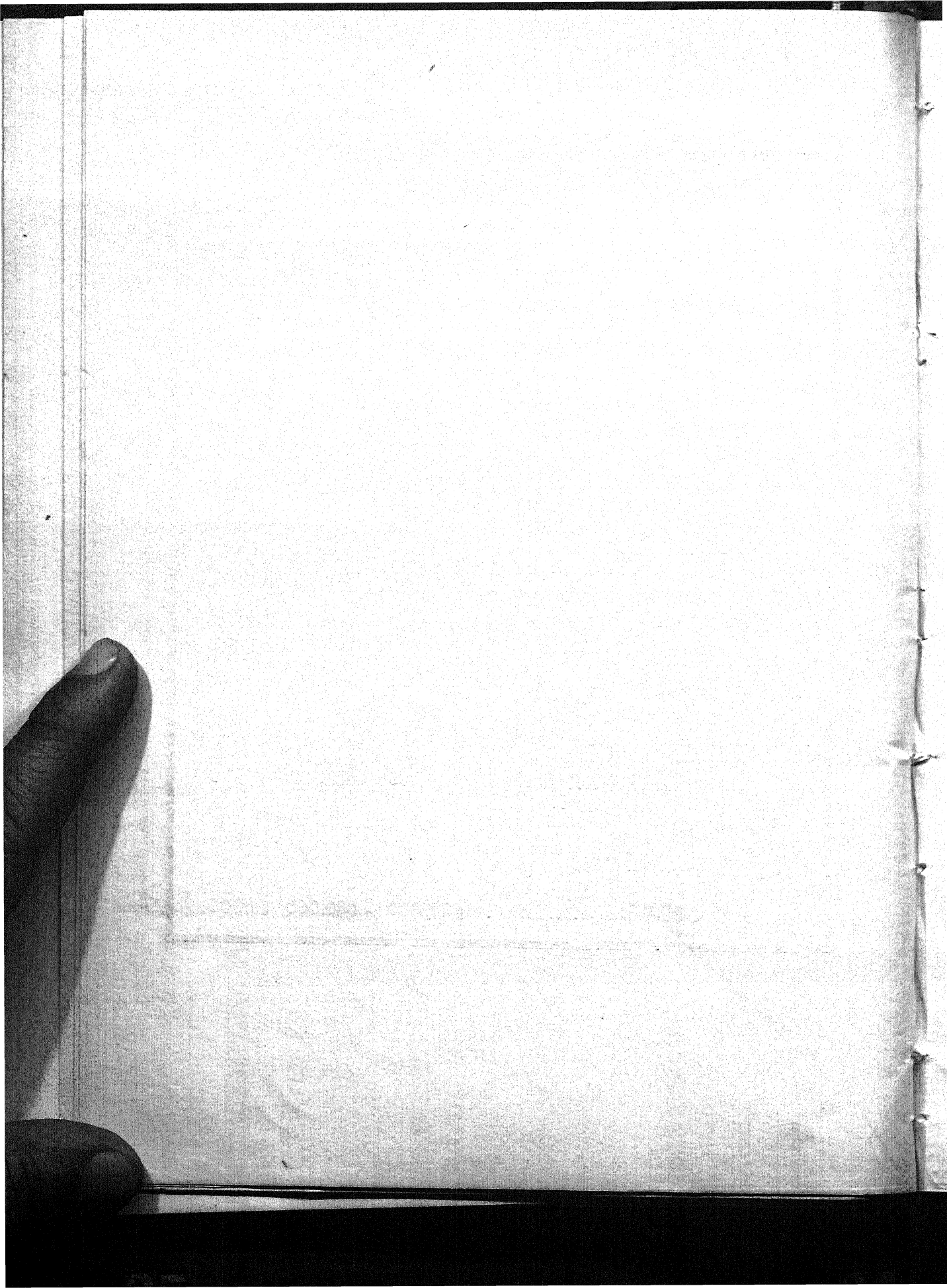
DURATION OF THE ICE AGE

1863. Charles Lyell,[46] *Principles of Geology*	800,000 years.
1874. James D. Dana,[47] *Manual of Geology*	720,000 "
1893. Charles D. Walcott,[48] *Geologic Time as indicated by the Sedimentary Rocks of North America*	400,000 "
1893. W. Upham,[49] *Estimates of Geologic times, Amer. Jour. sci., vol XLV*	100,000 "
1894. A. Heim,[50] *Ueber das absolute Alter der Eiszeit*	100,000 "
1900. W.J. Sollas,[51] *Evolutional Geology*	400,000 "
1909. Albrecht Penck.[52] *Die Alpen im Eiszeitalter*	520,000-840,000
1914. James Geikie,[53] *The Antiquity of man in Europe*	620,000 (min)

JOUR. BURMA RESEARCH SOC. XXI, II, 1931.

III

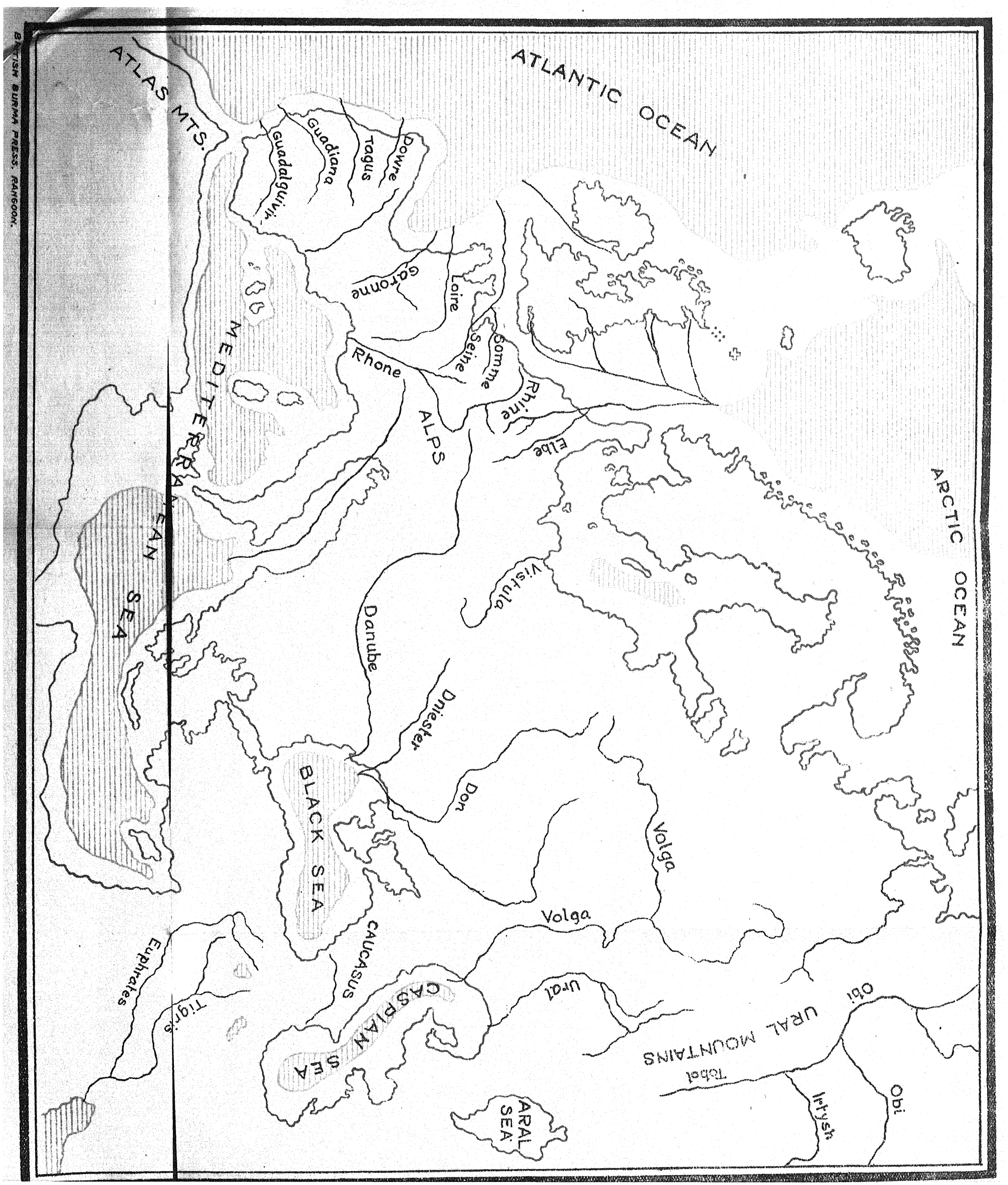
		Relative Duration	Grand Totals	Descent of Alpine Snow-Line.
POST GLACIAL TIME (Period of Upper Palæolithic culture, Cro-Magnon and Brünn races).....	UNITS 1	YEARS 25,000	YEARS 25.000	METERS
IV. GLACIAL STAGE (=Würm, Wisconsin). (Close of Lower Palæolithic culture, Neanderthal race).....	1	25,000	50.000	1,200
3d. *Interglacial Stage.* (Opening period of Lower Palæolithic culture, Piltdown and pre-Neanderthaloid races).....	4	100,000	150,000	
III. GLACIAL STAGE (= RISS, Illinoian).....	1	25,000	175,000	1250
2d. *Interglacial Stage* (= Mindel-Riss, Yarmouth)..... (Period of Heidelberg race)	8	200,000	375,000	
II. GLACIAL STAGE (= MINDEL, Kansan).....	1	25,000	400,000	1,300
1st. *Interglacial Stage* (= Günz-Mindel, Aftonian)..... (Period of *Pithecanthropus* or Trinil race)	3	75,000	475,000	
I. GLACIAL STAGE (= Günz, Nebraskan).....	1	25,000	500,000	1,200



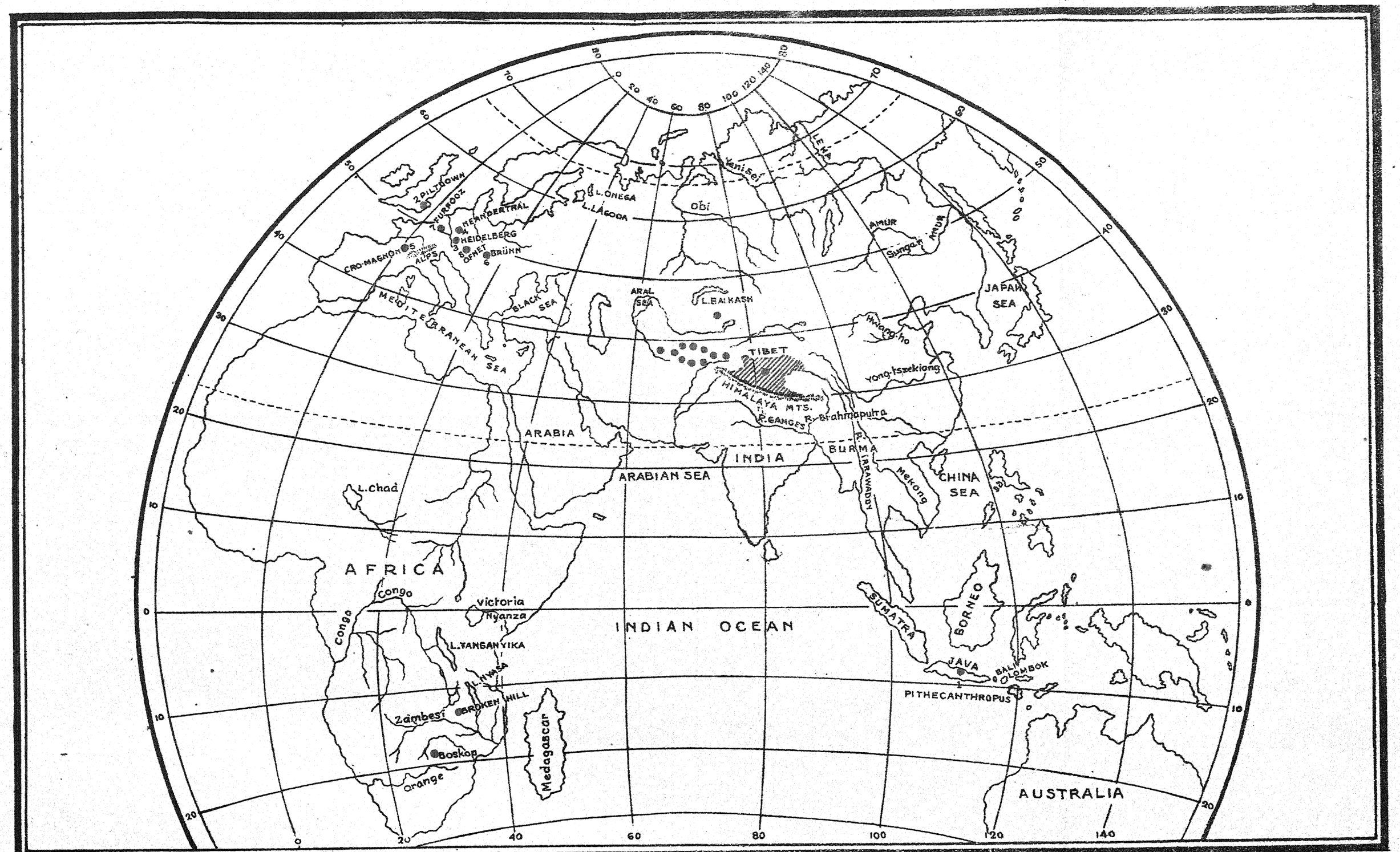
Geologic Time	Penck, 1910 Geikie, 1914	wiegers, 1913	Boule, Breuil, Obermaier, 1912 Schmidt, 1912
Postglacial.	Magdalenian.	Bronze. Neolithic. Azilian.	Magdalenian. Solutrean. Aurignacian.
IV GLACIAL.	Solutrean.	Magdalenian. Soultren. Aurignacian. Mousterian.	Mousterian.
Third Interglacial	Mousterian.	Mousterian.	Early Mousterian. Cold Acheulean. Warm " Chellean. Pre-Chellean.
III. GLACIAL	Mousterian.	Cold Acheulean.	
Second Interglacial	Acheulean. Chellean.	Warm Acheulean. Chellean.	
II. GLACIAL		Pre-Chellean.	
First Interglatial.			

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION AS TO THE GEOLOGIC AGE OF THE PALÆOLITHIC CULTURE STAGES.

The right-hand column represents the theory adopted in this volume.



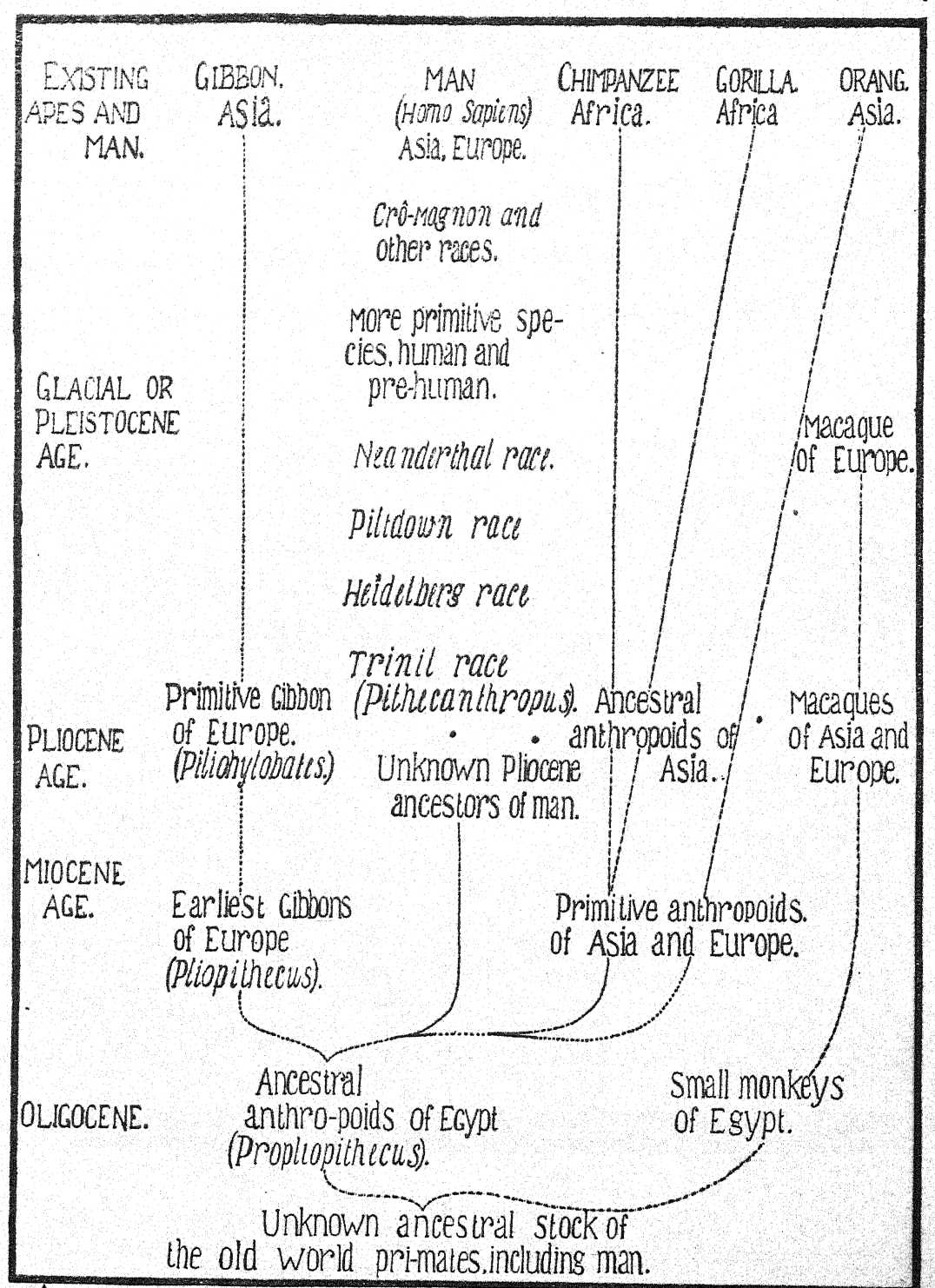
BRITISH BURMA PRESS, RANGOON.



BRITISH BURMA PRESS, RANGOON.

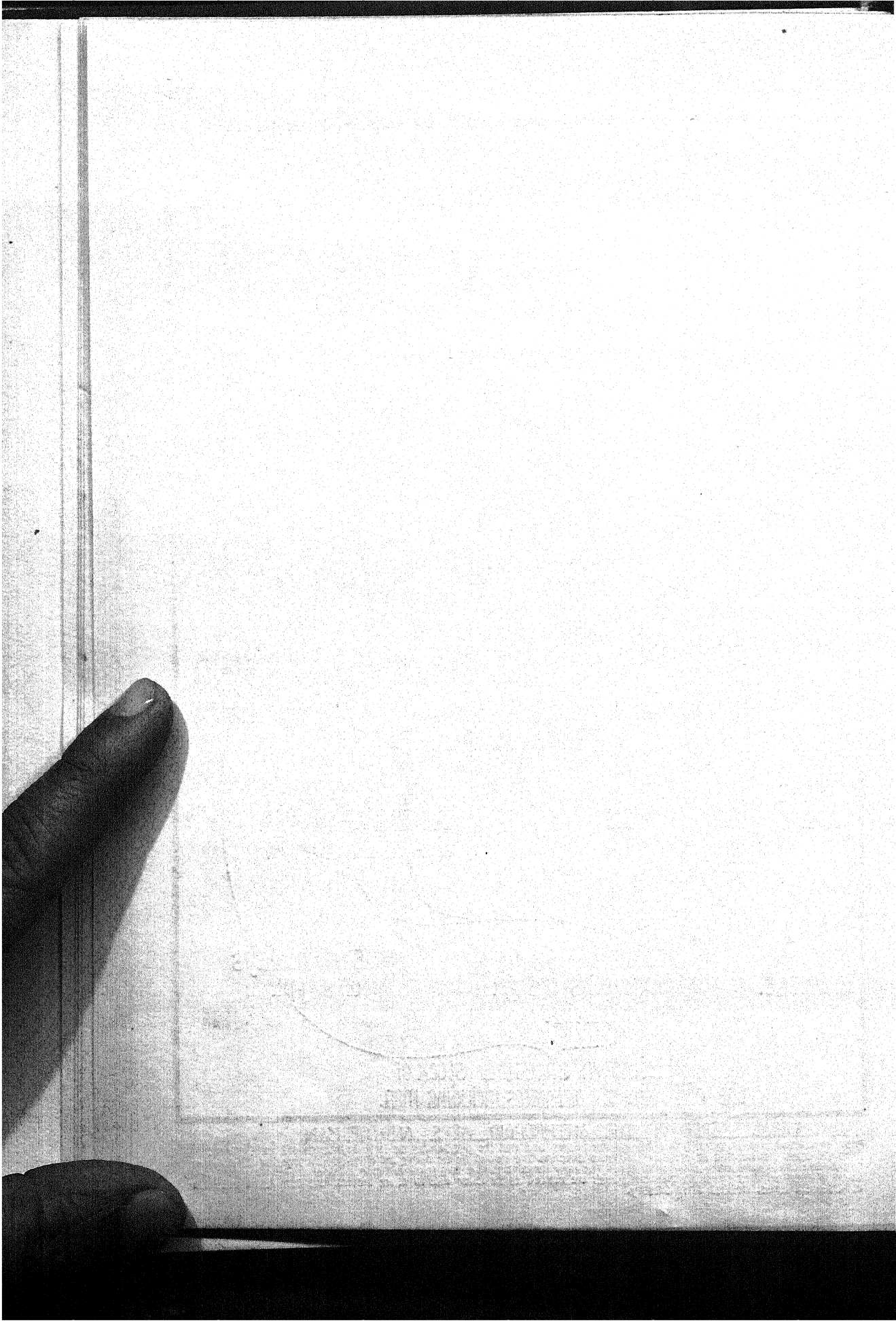
● TALGAI

VI



ANCESTRAL TREE OF THE ANTHROPOID APES AND OF MAN.

From the unknown and ancestral stock of the anthropoid apes and man the GIBBON was the first to branch off in oligocene times; the ORANG then branched off in a widely different direction. The stem of the CHIMPANZEE and of the GORILLA branched off at a more recent date and is more nearly allied to that of man. Five early human races have been found in Europe in Glacial or Pleistocene times, but no traces of other primates except the macaques, which are related to the lower division of the baboons, have been found in Europe in Pleistocene times. Modified after Gregory.



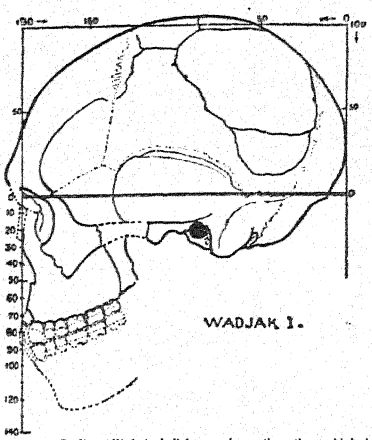


FIG. 155.—Profile of Wadjak skull I, reproducing the outline published by Dr Dubois. The stippled outline of the missing lower jaw represents, on a slightly reduced scale, the corresponding part of the lower jaw of Wadjak II.

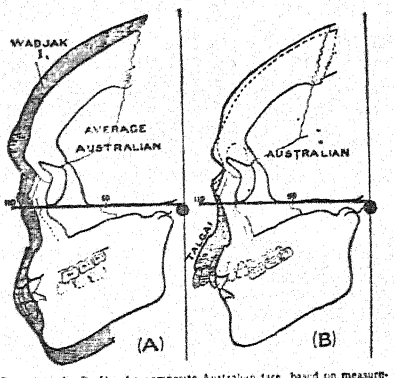


FIG. 161.—A. Profile of a composite Australian face, based on measurements made on the skulls of ten male aborigines of Australia. This profile is oriented on the Frankfort plane—which passes from the sill of the orbit to the upper margin of the ear passage. The facial outline of Wadjak I. is placed on this plane, its ear passage coinciding with that of the other figure. B. The same Australian profile with the profile of the Talgai Jad placed as described above. In this comparison the true position of the ear passage of the Talgai skull has been fixed as shown in fig. 159 (E), behind the site in the fossil cast, for the temporal bone has been dislocated in a forward direction by earth pressure.

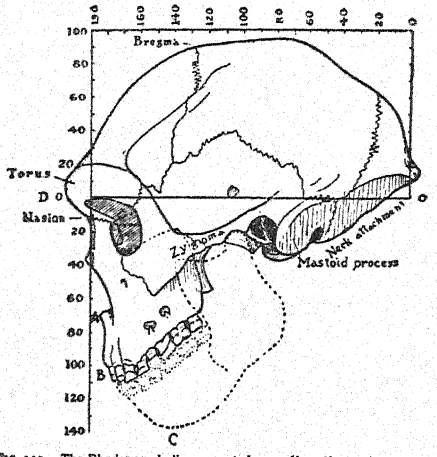


FIG. 139.—The Rhodesian skull represented in profile with stippled outline of the missing lower jaw.

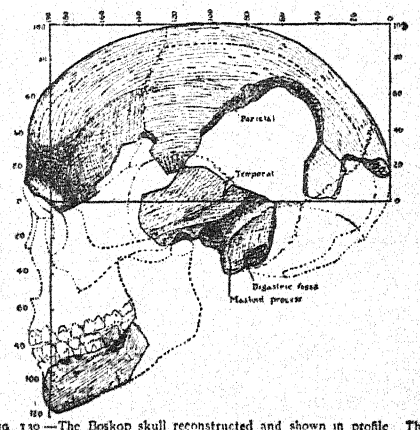


FIG. 130.—The Boskop skull reconstructed and shown in profile. The sides of the skull, except the lower jaw, have been reversed to make the face look to the left and make this diagram comparable with others given in this work. The skull has been placed within the framework of lines which fits the skull of an average Englishman.

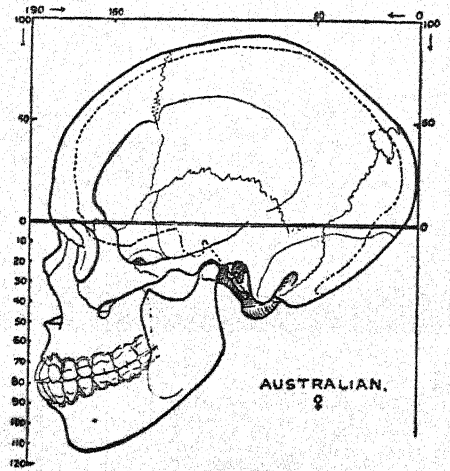


FIG. 156.—The profile of the skull of an aboriginal woman of Australia, for comparison with the Wadjak type, given in fig. 155.

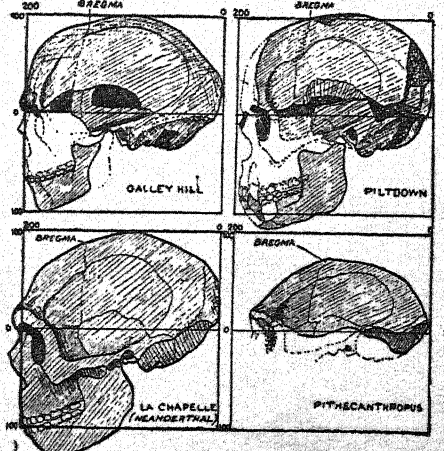


FIG. 217.—Four types of human skulls compared—Galley Hill, Piltdown, La Chapelle-aux-Saints, and Pithecanthropus.

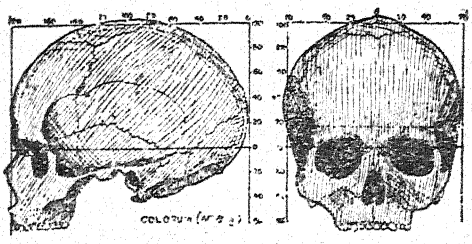


FIG. 4.—One of the Coldrum skulls set within a framework of lines which bound the chief diameters of a modern skull of mean size. The skull is represented in two aspects—profile and full face. On the vault, the anomalous bone mentioned in the text is represented.

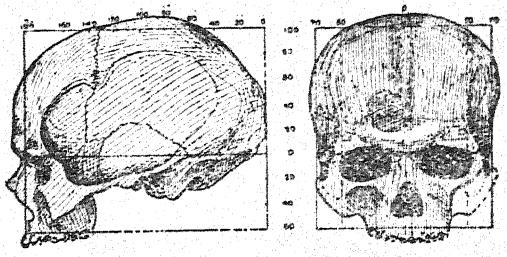


FIG. 27.—Skull of Cromagnon man viewed from the side and from the front.

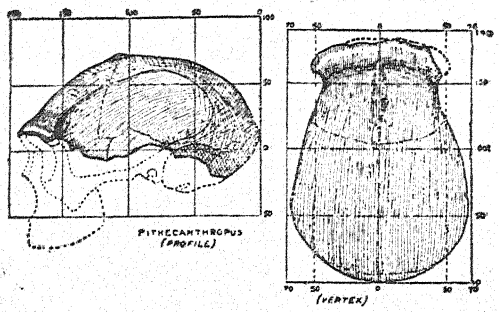


FIG. 150.—Profile and vertex of the cranium of Pithecanthropus, from a cast of the original.

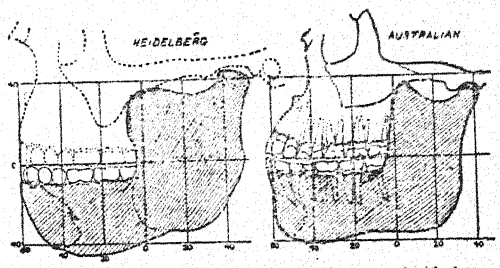


FIG. 119.—Profile of the Heidelberg mandible compared with the profile of the mandible of an Australian native.

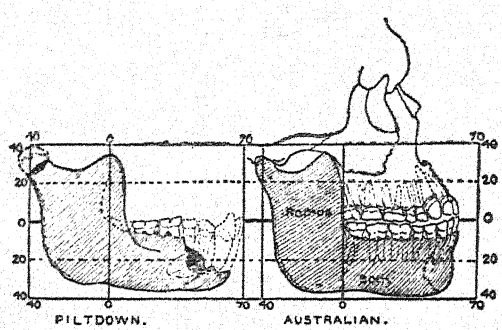


FIG. 175.—The Piltdown mandible, as seen in true profile, compared with a corresponding view of the mandible of an Australian native. The missing teeth and parts of the Piltdown mandible are indicated by stippled lines.

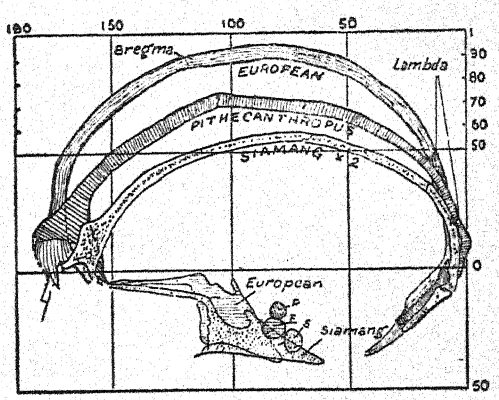


FIG. 151.—Cranial vault of Pithecanthropus, of the Siamang (gibbon), and of a modern European orientated on the zero base line. The Siamang's skull is represented twice its natural size.

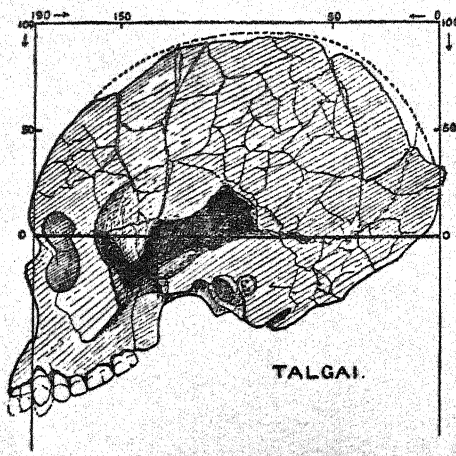


FIG. 159.—Profile of the Talgai skull, drawn from a cast of the skull with certain details introduced from Dr Stewart Smith's figures.

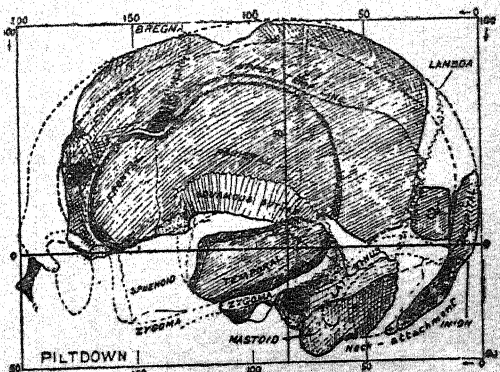


FIG. 172.—Fragments of the Piltdown skull placed in position and represented in profile.

He probably lived somewhere about the latter part of the Palaeolithic period of Europe, that is to say somewhere about the same time that the Cro-Magnons were flourishing in Europe. His descendants are almost certainly the Bushmen of present day South Africa.

Next I show Cro-Magnon man and you will see at once the similarity between him and Boskopman. He was a large-brained man even as was Boskop man. Their brain capacity was something like 1,600 c.c.; that is to say some 180 c.c. more than the average brain capacity of modern man. His face was rather broad, much broader than that of the average modern man, which I now show you, exemplified in one of the skulls from Coldrum in Kent.

The probabilities are that Burma may produce something like Pithecanthropus, or Broken Hill, or possibly Wadjak man. Evidence of these would be found most likely in caves or possibly in stratified gravels of the main river valleys. That is to say, as indicated above, it would be advisable for Government officials or employees of any companies, working in the foot-hills, or along river territories to be interested in the search for the evidence of pre-historic man in Burma.

The tables and diagrams illustrating this article are all taken from Osborne's "Men of the Old Stone Age" and Keith's "Antiquity of Man."

BURMESE BIRTH CUSTOMS

BY

MRS. R. B. SMART.

Birth.

Before.

As soon as the bearing pains begin, the woman or her mother or a woman friend, offers on her behalf to the Anaukgadaw (အနောက်ကဆောင်) also called the Anaukmebya, the following: one pi of rice in a pi measure—four annas and a few heads of garlic, praying at the same time and saying "Let the door of life be open. Let the new life come forth! Let the pain and sorrow soon be over and the joy last for long" etc.

After.

FOR A BOY.

When the child is born, the midwife draws the navel cord out with seven pulls holding her breath all the while—this is supposed to draw the full life into the child—less than seven times would mean a proportionate loss of strength—the cord is then placed on a silver coin and cut and, for some reason unknown, only a rupee or eight-anna piece is used. This coin becomes the property of the midwife. Very poor parents use a piece of firewood for this cutting, and failing the above mentioned coins, firewood is always used. An important item of the midwife's duties is the measuring of the navel cord which must be measured exactly to the child's nose and cut at that spot. The cutting is done with a cheap knife purchased for this special purpose. This knife after the operation is placed in the ashes until the navel cord drops (placing in the ashes is supposed to fasten the dropping of the cord) and is then thrown away.

The mother now performs the ceremony of propitiation of the Anaukgadaw or Anaukmebya. Holding some uncooked rice in the palm of her hands she *shikoes* to the West and prays as follows: "Don't frighten or startle me. Don't cause me to catch my breath, etc.—" Then the rice is scattered on the low wooden stand (ဒိုးတင်) on which she is to sit for the sweating and this rice prevents the Anaukgadaw from troubling her.

Each day when she eats or drinks, she holds the dish towards the West saying "Please do eat and drink", and after waiting a minute or so, she eats the food or drinks the water. The placenta is buried, care being taken that it is not buried towards that point of the compass that the *Naga* is facing at the time (*See* Note 1). A warm bath is

taken every day; and the patient is rubbed with saffron three times a day, she takes saffron and salt dissolved in hot water. Before being dissolved the saffron and salt are worked together and formed into balls the size of a hazel nut and three balls are taken at a dose—One for the Buddha, one for the law and one for the assembly (တုရုး တရုး သံဃာ).

Every day the woman is shampooed and bound with a cloth five cubits long and her head is bound with five gaung-baungs to prevent headaches.

Each day at one o'clock she is sweated Seated in front of a blazing fire she first faces it, then turns her right side to it, then her back and then the left side. The parts of the body not exposed to the fire are heavily covered with cloths, and these, together with the heat of the fire, produce a profuse perspiration.

The woman remains indoors for seven days mostly spending them seated on the Migat (ဒိးကတ်). but on the seventh day she must make an effort and take seven steps on the earth—this followed by a cold bath prevents swelling of the feet etc.

The cradle ceremony. For the first seven days of his existence little notice is taken of a Burmese child. Beyond being fed and bathed no ceremonies or offerings are made on his behalf, but on the seventh day the Cradle Ceremony takes place.

Early in the morning a relation or friend goes to market and purchases (1) A cradle, (2) Rope, (3) Hooks, (4) Cocoanuts, (5) Plantains, (6) Cakes fried in oil, (7) A small earthern pot, (8) A stick of *Kimondi* and some soap nut. Nothing must be bought before the child's birth, as it brings great ill-luck.

Reaching home, the cradle is thoroughly washed and then hung. At each corner of the cradle is tied a small packet wrapped in a piece of cloth and containing a little paddy, rice, money (more or less according to the circumstances of the parents) grass and various leaves (*See* Note II).

A covering is then spread on the cradle into which is then placed a complete set of men's clothes, (preferably a very old man's clothes) a *pesa*, a dah, a razor, gold and silver (the family jewels) a mirror, a comb, a ruby ring if obtainable and ear-rings set with any other precious stones. *Thanaka* is then ground and sprinkled in the cradle.

After the cradle is ready for occupation the midwife warms the *Kimondi* and soapnut in the new small chatty, rubs them together and washes the child's head—she then shaves it, catching the hair in a strip of white cloth—hair and cloth being afterwards placed in the jar and thrown away.

The child is then fed with the "Mingala" food or "Food of ceremony". Taking a plate of rice and a spoonful of water the midwife places first a grain of rice to the child's lips saying "Mingala rice". Throwing away the grain of rice she next carries the water to the child's mouth saying "Mingala Curry". This is done three times.

Seven threads of white cotton twisted together are placed, seven on each wrist, seven on each ankle and seven round the child's neck.

Cradle and child are now left, in order to attend to the *Nats*.

First the house *nat* (အိမ်တွင်း မင်းမာကန့်) has to be propitiated and the child *nat* (နတ်သမီးမကလေး)

(The house *nat* is represented in every Burmese house by a cocoanut, which may be seen any day hanging in a cane frame, with red and white threads tied round the upper part of it. These threads are the *Nat's* gaung baung. Great care must be taken in selecting this fruit. It must be large and without flaw or blemish. The shoots also must be perfect. If not approved by the *Nat* he will bring troubles on the folk of the house. Often as much as /8/- and /12/- annas is paid for a particularly fine specimen. This cocoanut is changed three times each year, at Wazo the beginning of Lent, at Tadingyut the end of the Lent, and during Tabaung or Tagu, which is called the *Nat's* happy time or "play time". It must however never be changed on a Wednesday or on the 4th, 6th, or 9th of the waxing as during that time the *Nats* are busy elsewhere. (ဗုဒ္ဓဟူး နတ်ယူးတောင်မတင်ရ) At the birth of a child it is also changed.

The ceremony of the offering on the mother's behalf is then performed. The old cocoanut is removed (afterwards used.) The new one is balanced on two bunches of plantains, and on a tray near by are placed 200 areca-nuts, some flowers and some pickled tea.

For the child *nat* on the child's behalf are offered a round cake (မုန့်လုံး) with syrup inside. A long cake (မုတ်ဆိုင်း) and a flat cake (မုန့်ပေါင်း) some flowers, an egg and some cooked sweet rice. All the above cakes are made of sweet rice flour.

The offerings are now stood aside for a while.

Another cocoanut balanced on two bunches of plantains is carried to the cradle and placed in it. The cocoanut is then removed and placed under the cradle. The plantains are placed one at the head and one at the foot. After this the child is dressed in two pieces of cloth dyed in saffron (a sort of preliminary *shin-byu-ing* in case of the child's early death.) A *pesa* is placed on his shoulder and he is then lifted by the midwife seven times as if he took seven steps, and at the seventh he is

placed in the cradle. The plantains are removed and the cradle is then rocked to and fro seven times by the oldest man in the house, who at each swing prays or wishes "May the child live to 120 years of age! May he be wise ! May he be rich! May he be beautiful ! May he be strong " etc etc.

The child is left in the cradle and now the cocoanut which represents the household *nat* is lifted into its place in the cane hanging frame, and the mother placing the offerings before it says—"One more slave has been born to serve you—Take care of him ".

The offerings to the child *nat* are then made with the prayer " Don't pinch my child. Don't tickle him. Don't make him laugh. Don't make him cry."

(I may here mention that the child's *nat* is very troublesome and even when the child cries or laughs a lot, or is fretful or wakeful, it is due to being pinched or tickled by this imp of mischief, who has to be propitiated in various ways—being offered a " golden husband " (a yellow painted doll), a " golden house " "golden food" etc.—)

The offerings made to this *nat* must only be eaten by men or boys as the *nat* does not approve of persons of her own sex.

The midwife is now *shikoed* by the mother of the child ; for all these days the child has been owned by the midwife. Now however, the mother redeems it by payments of four annas. She is then paid and dismissed, taking with her the coin on which the navel cord was cut, the plantains and cocoanuts that were placed in the cradle and the four annas redemption money. This must, I find, be always four annas. The fee can be any amount for the midwife's services, but to redeem the child four annas and nothing else is ever paid. One woman said that four annas *tha-nat* might originally have had some connection with the word son.

Note I.

Nagas face West during Tabaung, Tagu, and Kasone.
Nagas face North during Nayone, Wazo, Wagaung.
Nagas face East during Tawthalin, Thadingyut and Tazaungmon.
Nagas face South during Natdaw, Pyatho and Tabodwai.

Note II. "The little packets—

Certain, or all, if possible. of the following leaves are used but if all are not obtainable then the child's day leaf must be used if it can be got.

Sunday Coconut
Monday Gangaw (1)
Tuesday Grass
Wednesday Kayaywet (ခရုန်ကိ)
Thursday Tabyeywet (သဗြဲနွက်)
Friday Thiywet
Saturday Danywet (2)

1. Meyna Furca. 2. Hanna Lawsoniaa Alba. I haven't identified he leaves.—The Burmans say—မနက်သမဲပြဲ ညနေခရာပန်လို.သွား သိကြားသော်မှဆီးနှိုလို့မ။)

A Girl.

For a girl, a woman's clothes are placed in the cradle instead of a man's. The other things are the same, a thanaka stone being added to the list. Instead of the yellow robe, the midwife pretends to bore her ears, just touching the ear with a needle. Also a girl is not lifted seven times before being placed in the cradle. The other ceremonies are exactly the same as for a boy.

TWO NATS OF NYAUNGHLA.

At Nyaunghla. just by Yuatha in the Pagan subdivision of the Myingyan District, there is a *natsin* enshrining a female nat seated on an elephant. An attendant rides behind her, who appears formerly to have carried some ceremonial ornament. This however has been broken off, and lies on the *natsin*, underneath the elephant. It is a wooden implement, resembling a sceptre, the handle being enclosed in a clay pot of modern manufacture. It is claimed that the statue is that originally erected at the time of her apotheosis.

Her name is Shwebonsin. She originally came from some Burman village in the Upper Chindwin District, where she was found by Manisithu, who had sailed there on his magic raft. She was raised to the throne, but afterwards cast aside on the appearance of a new favourite and thereon died of a broken heart. Directly she found herself a nat, she went to the prince who was again touring on his raft, and seized its prow. On her revealing her identity, and the cause of her death, he bestowed on her the village of Nyaunghla, which was thereafter exempted from paying revenue. This exemption continued until the annexation.

She still appears to her villagers when they are in any difficulty as a beautiful maiden in queenly apparel. As is so often the case her rule is personal rather than territorial. By intermarriage between the villagers she has obtained authority over and gives assistance to the people living in the adjacent village of Yuatha. And when a man of Nyaunghla is in difficulty in Lower Burma, for instance if he is threatened by a thuye, she appears to him and helps him.

Just to the North of Nyaunghla there is another natsin erected in honour of a female nat. This is a Chin girl. Narathu, the son of Manisithu, made over the 7 divisions of Taungzin, the official style of the Chindwin, to his brother, and received in return a thousand Chins, whom he settled in this neighbourhood. Falling in love with one of the girls he married her and raised her four brothers to the position of "thugaung" at Salin. The thugaung derive their origin from the four lines founded by these men. The girl however pined for the loss of her brothers and dying became a spirit haunting the place where they had lived together.

Slightly connected with these stories are those relating to the taking of Popa by the Burmans. Formerly there had been a Shan village and a Chin village on Popa. The Burman intervened in a dispute, and in the end both Shan and Chin had to give way before him. Daungle, Taungzin are places mentioned in this Yazawin. The Chins East of Taungzin are Chins from Popa, those west of Taungzin are from the Chindwin.

J. S. F.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

The Twenty-fourth meeting of the Text Publication Sub-Committee of the Burma Research Society was held at Chairman's residence on the University Estate, Prome Road, on Thursday, the 26th March 1931, at 8 a.m.

PRESENT :

Prof. Pe Maung Tin, M.A., B.Litt., I.E.S. (*Chairman*).
U Po Sein, A.T.M.
A. Cassim, Esq., B.A. (*Secretary*).

MINUTES.

1. Confirmed the minutes of the twenty-third meeting of the Text Publication Sub-Committee held on the 21st December 1929.

2. *Resolved* that Mr. Duroiselle, M A., be requested to expedite the editing of the Jatabon for the Text Publication Series.

3. *Resolved* that U Po Sein be requested to expedite the editing of the Paramigan Aphye *excluding the original text.*

4. *Confirmed* the President's preliminary sanction to—

(*a*) the printing of Kyigan Myittaza by Saya Mya at the Pyi Gyi Mundyne Press on condition that the work be edited by Saya Pwa and that a royalty of 10 per cent. on the sales be paid to the Text Publication Fund. The first edition should not exceed 3000 copies ;

(*b*) the re-printing of 1,000 copies of Miscellaneous Songs. (No. 6 of the Series);

(*c*) the printing of 2,000 copies of U Ponnya's Mittaza by the Pyi Gyi Mundyne Press on payment of a royalty of 15 per cent. on the sales ;

(*d*) the Pyi Gyi Mundyne Press to bring out a second edition of Ommadandi Pyo ;

(*e*) the copying of Theinga Byuha Hmatsu, Mwelun Yagan, Ngwedaung Yagan, Mg. Kala's Mahayazawingyi (15th, 16th and 17th chaps.), U Ponnya's Myittaza and Ratanashwekyeh-mon at a total cost of Rs. 73-14-0; and

(*f*) the payment to Saya Yeik of Rs. 30 as an honorarium for his edition of U Ponnya's Myittaza for the Text Serries.

5. *Resolved* that U Ponnya's Myittaza be numbered as No. 15 of the Series in place of the Gavampati.

6. *Considered* U Tin's draft Introduction to Ommadandi Pyo.

Resolved (*i*) that U Tin be thanked for the draft, and (*ii*) that the Secretary request him to elucidate certain points of doubt in it.

7. *Resolved* to bring out editions of Manle Sayadaw's " Makhadeva Lingathit and " Lawkathara Pyo" in the Text Publication Series.

8. *Resolved* that Mingalathok Pyo by Monywe Sayadaw be edited for the Series by Saya Pwa and published by U Po Sein.

9. Agreed that the question of purchasing the Manuscripts entitled Tawbu Shin Uggantha Mala's Myittaza from U Ba Phay Latt for the Text Publication Series be left to the discretion of the Chairman.

10. *Recorded* letter dated the March 1931 from U Tin, K. S. M., A. T. M., suggesting the advisability of printing the Gihithuta Vinaya Pyo for the Series.

11. *Agreed* to enquire from U Po Kya if he would be willing to allow the Text Publication Sub-Committee to undertake the work of printing and publishing the above work as part of the Text Publication Series.

AHMED CASSIM,
Secretary,
Text Publication Sub-Committee.

The 22nd June 1931.

Minutes of a Meeting of the Executive Committee held at University College, (Commissioner Road) on Thursday, July, the 9th, 1931, at 6-30 p.m.

PRESENT :

The Hon'ble Sir William Carr, I.C.S. (*President*).
S. G. Grantham, Esq., B.A., I.C.S. (*Vice-President*).
Prof. Pe Maung Tin, M.A., B.Litt., I.E.S (*Vice-President*).
A. Cassim, Esq,, B.A., (*Hon. Treasurer*).
G. H. Luce, Esq,. M.A., I.E.S., (*Hony. Librarian*).
G. E. Gates, Esq., M.A.,
U Tun Pe, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.
U Po Sein, A.T.M.
D. J. Sloss, Esq., M.A., C.B.E., I.E.S.
Meer Suleiman, Esq., M.A., B.L.
Mr. B. R. Pearn, M.A. (*Hon. Secretary*).

MINUTES.

1. Confirmed the minutes of the previous meeting held on February, the 26th, 1931.

2. Considered Mr. Duroiselle's letter, dated the 24th March, to the Honorary Secretary, Dictionary Sub-Committee, and resolved that the Dictionary Sub-Committee be informed that there is in the opinion of the Executive Committee no possibility of procuring the funds necessary for editing and publishing the Dictionary on the terms so far proposed; and that the Dictionary Sub-Committee be requested to report whether any alternative scheme for editing and publishing the Dictionary can be suggested.

3. Appointed, Thursday, the 21st August, as the dated for the holding of a General Meeting to be addressed by Mr. Luce.

4. Recorded letter No. 131 dated the 4th May 1931, from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma.

5. Resolved that the Report of the Sub-Committee appointed by Minute 6 of the meeting held on the 23rd January be considered at the next meeting if it has by then been received.

6. Considered the position relative to the funds of the Society now lying at deposit in Dawson's Bank, and resolved that the Society support the scheme put forward by the liquidators for converting deposits into debentures; and that the Honorary Treasurer be deputed to represent the Society at the meeting of creditors to be held on the 22nd instant, where he shall support the above-mentioned scheme or any other reasonable scheme for carrying on the business of the Bank, and oppose any scheme for compulsory winding-up of the Bank.

7. Resolved that the price of numbers of the Journal be reduced to Rs. 2/8 per copy in Burma, and 4 shillings in England; and that the British Burma Press be requested to undertake the sale of old and future issues at this price, complete sets to be sold at Rs. 2/- per copy, a commission of Rs. 1/- per copy being allowed on all sales.

8. Resolved to abandon the practice of collecting subscriptions by means of a V. P. P. receipt, and to revert to the former practice of sending reminders to Members, but to include a blank banker's order with each reminder.

9. Recorded the minutes of the 24th Meeting of the Text Publication Sub-Committee held on the 26th March 1931.

B. R. PEARN,
Honorary Secretary.

Rangoon, the 10th July 1930.

JOURNAL OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY,

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CONTENTS.

THE TRAGEDY OF NEGRAIS.

BY

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(*Professor of History in the University of Rangoon.*)

THE TRAGEDY OF NEGRAIS.

INTRODUCTION.

In my "Early English Intercourse with Burma, 1587-1743", published three years ago, I strove to set forth all that could be gleaned from existing records concerning the earliest period of English enterprise in this country, a subject previously shrouded in almost complete mystery. The present work deals with the next phase in the history of the English connexion with Burma. It traces the history of the tragic settlement on the island of Negrais and of the relations of the East India Company with the rival Courts of Pegu and Ava, during the period 1752-61. And the story I have to tell constitutes a not unimportant episode in Anglo-French relations, hitherto neglected by the historian.

Previous accounts of English enterprise in Burma during this period, notably those of Symes and Harvey, have been based almost entirely upon the information found in the papers on the subject collected in Dalrymple's Oriental Repertory. Now Dalrymple had no access to the records relating to the origin and early history of the Negrais settlement; they were of a secret nature, and I have recently discovered them in the Military Consultation Books of Fort St. George. Apparently they have never till now been used by any writer who has had occasion to deal with my subject. The complete story therefore has never been told; and it will be seen that the previously missing portion includes what to the general student of history is its most important phase; and one indeed without which the remainder lacks point and meaning.

For some years the main body of material for filling in this inconvenient gap in our knowledge has been available in printed form, *i. e.* in the Records of Fort St. George, Diaries and Consultation Books, Military Department, 1752-4, published by the Government Press, Madras, in 1910-11. Other previously unexplored sources, which have yielded valuable material, are the Madras Public Proceedings, the Home Miscellaneous Series of India Office Documents, that Office's collections of Coast and Bay Abstracts and of Despatches to Madras, and Professor Dodwell's Calendar of Madras Despatches, 1744-55. For French activities in Burma and elsewhere in the East I have made much use of Henri Martineau's recently completed monumental work, *Dupleix et L'Inde Française* (4 vols., Paris 1920-28), which gives long verbatim extracts from original sources. With the aid of this material, supplementing that previously known, though imperfectly studied, I am here attempting to tell the complete story of the Negrais episode; not, however, a patched up edition of the old story, but a new one, for, like the picture in a jig-saw puzzle, the fitting in of the key parts previously missing gives an entirely new character to the whole.

Some objection may be raised to my application of the now frowned-on name Talaing to the people of Lower Burma. I should therefore explain that this was the name consistently applied by the Burmese, at the time of which I am writing, to the people known to Europeans as "Peguers" or "Peguans", *i. e.* supporters or subjects of the Kingdom of Pegu, which was conquered and absorbed by Alaungpaya. It is therefore in this sense rather than any strictly racial one that I have used the word. I have felt that the use of the word Mon, which today has a racial connotation, might lead to a certain amount of confusion. Actually in the eighteenth century both words were used somewhat loosely by Europeans. As an example of this I may quote the following passage in the journal of the geographer, Dr. Buchannan, who came with Symes to Burma in 1795: "The Burmas call themselves Myamma, by the people of Pegue they are called Pumma. These latter, called by the Burmas Talain, call themselves Moan." (Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 687, 11.)

My grateful acknowledgments are due to the staffs of the India Office Library and Record Department for the great help afforded me in the search for the materials upon which this monograph is based.

D. G. E. HALL

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF THE SETTLEMENT.

"In the year 1753," writes Alexander Dalrymple, "an Expedition to settle at Negrais was undertaken; As the particular Motives, for this Scheme, were communicated only to a Secret Committee, of these, or of the Plan laid down, if there was any, I can therefore say nothing,"[1] He does, however, offer one useful clue to the origin of the settlement in the shape of a paper of anonymous authorship entitled "The Consequence of Settling an European Colony on the Island Negrais."[2] This was apparently written in, or slightly before, the year 1750, and was furnished to him by "my deceased friend Governor Saunders", who had been responsible for despatching the expedition under David Hunter, which seized the island in April 1753. In this paper all the general conditions favouring the selection of Negrais as a site for an English factory are adumbrated. Main stress is laid upon the value of the island for the foundation of a "Capacious Harbour for Shipping, being secured against all sorts of winds". Herein shipbuilding and repairs could be carried on more safely than Syriam, where, it was alleged, the silting of the river threatened to make it before many years impracticable for ships of large burthen. Moreover, it was far removed from neighbourhood of the savage and confused struggle, which had raged in Burma since the establishment of the rebel kingdom of Pegu in 1740. In its neighbourhood were to be obtained inexhaustible supplies of teakwood and abundance of food. Further, it could easily be occupied and held by a European power. But the climax of the argument appears to be reached in the following brief and pregnant sentence: "In case of a War with any European Nation, of what consequence would it be, to have a safe and capacious Harbour for Ships, at such a small distance from Madras and Bengal."

In 1750 war with a European nation in the East was a far from remote contingency. The War of the Austrian Succession, which had been formally terminated two years earlier by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, had witnessed the first serious Anglo-French conflict in India; and although the contest on land had been limited to the Carnatic, the events of the struggle had clearly demonstrated the importance of sea-power as a determining factor. For the French maritime forces, organised at Mauritius under the brilliant direction of Labourdonnais, had in 1746 suddenly and unexpectedly won the command of the sea from their

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1 Oriental Repertory, I, 97.

2 *Ibid.*, I, 129-132. The island herein referred to is the one known to the Burmese as Haing gyi, not Diamond Island. For a discussion of this point see Hall, Early English Intercourse with Burma, 1587-1743, 129.

rivals and captured Madras. And although the French supremacy at sea was not maintained, a sharp lesson had been read to the East India Company. When therefore with the peace Madras passed once more into British hands, its Governor, Thomas Saunders, began to devote attention to the matter of strengthening English naval control over the Bay of Bengal.

The matter was indeed urgent, since it soon became obvious that, so far as the South Indian arena was concerned, the Treaty of 1748 had brought little respite to the harassed English. There the French under Dupleix were feverishly developing their power in new directions, ever seeking new vantage points, and threatening to encircle Madras with a ring of territory under their control. Thus, although trade still remained the chief pursuit of the English Company, Governor Saunders was drawn more and more into the task of circumventing the designs of Dupleix. And the vortex of the struggle rapidly expanded until it touched the opposite shores of the Bay. The causes of the English settlement at Negrais therefore must be sought in French activities in the much distracted land of pagodas. And the political motive will be found to predominate.

Since the closing years of the 17th century the French had carried on intermittent trade with the Burmese ports. They had gone there solely for the timber and crude oil required in shipbuilding. For many years no attempt had been made to develop settled trading relations with the country : the risks were considered too great. Dupleix's arrival in India soon altered this state of affairs. He saw the vast potentialities of the Burmese ports to a sea power. In his "*Mémoire sur la situation de nos établissements en 1727*" he emphasized the importance of planting a French shipyard at Syriam. "*Les bois y sont pour rien; les ouvriers seuls causent toute la dépense,*" he wrote.[1] His efforts resulted in the despatch of a French agent, named Dalvarez, to the Court of Ava. This man returned to Pondicherry in 1729 with royal letters conceding certain commercial privileges, including the grant of a piece of ground at Prome and permission to maintain a "bancassal", or godown, at Syriam. In the first flush of enthusiasm for the new enterprise Dupleix himself was badly strung. Early in 1732 he bought a small ship, *Le Fidèle*, which he consigned with a cargo valued at between sixteen and seventeen thousand rupees to Lewis Tornery,[2] a shipbuilder at Syriam, who was to supply a return cargo of naval stores. But in some way or other his supercargoes and a French resident named Dubois contrived to cheat him of the greater part of the returns of the venture.[3]

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1 Alfred Martineau, *Dupleix et L'Inde Française*,, I, 44.

2 For further information concerning this man see Hall, *op. cit.*, 207, etc.

3 Martineau, *op. cit.*, I, 516-7.

The French "factory", which was opened at Syriam as the result of the royal sanction accorded in 1729, was a shipyard presided over by a professional shipwright, a private contractor working on a commission basis, like his English counterpart of that period. The home authorities would have preferred one of their covenanted servants for the post, but no one with the requisite technical knowledge was available. The first "Chief" La Noë built four ships for Pondicherry during his term of office. Two of them, the *Fulvy* and the *Fleury*, were large ships, the former of which distinguished herself later on in operations against the English. The others, the *Marie Gertrude* and the *Diana*, were of the brigantine class. In 1737, when La Noë left Syriam, he was succeeded by Puel, a sea-captain famous in Eastern waters, who obtained a further grant of land at Syriam for the erection of necessary buildings. The outbreak of the Talaing rebellion, however, soon put a stop to this projected expansion. The hostility of the rebels caused Puel to abandon the factory in January 1742. He returned to Pondicherry with such naval stores as he could carry with him. The remainder he entrusted to the care of French missionary, Père Wittony. [1]

In the meantime the War of the Austrian Succession had begun ; and soon the Anglo-French struggle in the Carnatic fully absorbed the attention of both sides, to the exclusion of schemes of expansion in Burma. That country too remained absorbed with its own internal strife. Year after year the fluctuating struggle continued between the rebel Talaing kingdom of Pegu and the Burmese of the north. There was little serious campaigning : each side carried on a series of raids into the other's territory, carrying devastation far and wide and depopulating the country. The original monk-king Smim Htaw Buddhaketi, set up in 1740, proved utterly incompetent as a leader. In 1747 therefore a new king, Binnya Dala, was installed with great pomp at Pegu. He and his brother, the Uporaza or Heir Apparent, adopted a more vigorous policy, and by the time that the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle brought the Anglo-French war in India nominally to an end, the power of the Talaings extended northwards as far as Prome and Toungoo, and the Southerners were raiding up to the walls of Ava itself. At this juncture the Burmese, no longer able to make a stand in the open against their rivals, began making overtures to Yunnan. The Talaings on the other hand, conscious that their position would never be secure until Upper Burma were completely subjugated, sent an embassy to Pondicherry in 1750 soliciting military assistance from Dupleix.

The opportunity was too good to let slip. Without hesitation Dupleix promised men and munitions. But before implementing his promise he decided to take stock of the situation in this land of white elephants. So in July 1751 there arrived at the Court of Pegu the Sieur Bruno[2]

1 *Ibid.*, II, 163-4.

2 Misspelt Bourno by most English writers from Dalrymple to Harvey.

Dupleix's agent, sent by him to spy out the land and suggest a line of action. Bruno was publicly received by Binnya Dala on July 28th, in the royal palace at Pegu. There herepeated Dupleix's promise of military aid, and pledged his sincerity by drinking from a golden goblet a beverage composed of water and the ashes of a small piece of yellow paper, upon which, before it was burnt, the customary formula used for oaths had been inscribed. He returned to his master to report that with five or six hundred well-equipped French troops it would be a simple matter to gain control over Syriam and its river. And Dupleix, seeing in the astounding enterprise the chance of building a new French empire on the banks of the Irrawaddy, wrote home to the Directors of the Compagnie Française strongly pressing the venture.

It was not long before the ever-watchful Thomas Saunders at Madras heard of the diplomatic activity between Pegu and Pondicherry. The English factory at Syriam had come to an end not long after the withdrawal of the French Resident, Puel. It had been burnt to the ground by the Talaings late in the year 1743. Thereafter official relations between the East India Company and Burma had lapsed. Out of this arose an extraordinary and tragic incident, the effects of which will have to be noted later. The Ostend Company's Bankibazar factory, regardless of a clause in the Anglo-Austrian treaty of 1731 stipulating the suppression of its parent company, had continued to trade under the protection of the Austrian flag. In 1744, probably owing to English and Dutch intrigues, it was besieged by the faujdar of Hugli. Unable to hold out, its Chief, François de Schonamille, with about a hundred of the garrison took ship for Burma, intending to transfer trading operations to a sphere definitely vacated by his English rivals. Soon after his arrival, however, he and the majority of his followers were treacherously massacred by the Talaings.[1]

Meanwhile, although there was neither English resident nor factory at Syriam, English private traders and shippers still frequented the port. To what extent we have no record. Probably one of them, Captain Thomas Taylor, was the author of the anonymous paper on "The Consequence of settling an European Colony on the Island Negrais", printed by Dalrymple.[2] Another, Robert Westgarth by name, was a shipwright at Syriam at the time of Bruno's mission to Pegu, and apparently possessed some degree of influence at Court. Presumably through him the Madras Council was informed of Binnya Dala's negotiations with Dupleix.

Thomas Saunders's first move, on hearing of the Pegu-Pondicherry *rapprochement*, was to write home to the Directors suggesting that in view of a rumour that the French intended to obtain from the Court of Pegu

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1 Cambridge Hist. of India, V, 115, 142. Madras Public Proceedinge, s. v. s Jan. and 29 July 1745. Dodwell, Calendar of Madras Despatches, 1744-1755, xix.

2 Dalrymple suggests his name and that of a Captain Barton as the possible authors.

the cession of the Island of Negrais, the Company should forestall them by planting a settlement there. From the correspondence it does not appear whether he knew anything of the East India Company's previous connexion with the island, in 1686, when its settlement had been projected as a counterpoise to the development of French influence in Siam [1]. On that occasion the company had been wise enough to abandon the scheme about it burnt its fingers. Long before it was possible for Saunders to receive a reply to his letter, came the news of Bruno's mission to Pegu. The effect of this may be seen in an entry in the Fort St. George Military Consultations under the date February 10th, 1752[2]. It records a decision made by the Council to send the *Porto Bello* sloop to Syriam for repairs, and to appoint Robert Westgarth the Company's Resident there, entrusting him with the task " of resettling our affairs at that place upon the best footing we can to prevent as much as we are able the French from encroaching on our trade." In explanation of this decision it was stated that the French had lately secured permission to establish a factory and hoist their colours at Syriam, and that they were rumoured to have designs upon the island of Negrais. Westgarth, therefore, was especially urged to forestall them by obtaining, if possible, a grant of the island to the East India Company.

But before the *Porto Bello* set sail for Syriam, a letter arrived from the Court of Directors in London instructing the " Private Committee " of the Madras Council " to endeavour making a Settlement on the Negrais." So, at a consultation on June 15th, the original arrangement made for the *Porto Bello* was altered. Instead she was to go to Negrais in company with a smaller vessel, the *Fortune*. She was to convey thither Thomas Taylor, who was placed in command of the expedition, together with " a Sergeant, a Corporal, six private Men, thirteen Coffrees, some Lascars and all things necessary for establishing a settlement." Then, having landed them, she was to proceed on to Syriam for her repairs, and also to convey to Westgarth his belated instructions. During her absence Taylor was to use the *Fortune* to make a thorough survey of the island and its neighbourhood, and especially to look out for a good site suitable for a harbour and capable of fortification.

Thomas Taylor's expedition arrived at Diamond Island on June 29th, 1753,[3] and established its base there. It was not long before its leader became aware that he had put his head into a hornet's nest. The local officials were thoroughly alarmed by this unwarranted intrusion. All attempts at conciliation proved fruitless. A force of several

1 This episode is recounted in Hall, *op. cit.*, 129-138.

2 Records of Fort St. George: Diary and Consultation Book, Military Department, 1752. (Government Press, Madras, 1910.) The Military Consultation Books of this period contain the records of "secret" consultations, and are similar in nature to the series, which at a later date is termed " Secret and Political." Hence, therefore, Dalrymple's ignorance of the origin of the settlement.

3 Fort St. George Diary and Consultation Book, Military Department, 1752, 61.

hundred men soon collected and threatened to cut to pieces Taylor's inconsiderable escort. In great alarm he threw up some defensive works on his island, and retained the *Porto Bello* at hand, so that he might cut and run, should the situation become intolerable. But his worst embarrassment came from a different quarter. The heavy rains of the south-west monsoon ruined his encampment on shore. Inevitable disease decimated his numbers and paralysed his activities. In these desperate straits he held on for some weeks, until he had made a rough map of the neigbourhood and formulated suggestions for the guidance of Fort St. George in the matter of the permanent occupation of Negrais Then, when the increasing hostility of the people and the ravages of fever rendered his position untenable, he evacuated it and sailed off with his two ships for Syriam, resolved to obtain some form of royal saction before proceeding any further with the business.[1]

News travelled with surprising rapidity in old Burma. Very shortly after Taylor began his operations in the Negrais vicinity, Robert Westgarth at Syriam got wind of what was afoot from the Talaing officials. A little later, by a private vessel from Madras, he received a duplicate copy of the instructions despatched to him by the *Porto Bello*. With all speed he sent a message by way of the creeks to Taylor telling him that the Talaings had recently captured the city of Ava, and warning him against adopting a high-handed attitude towards the people. Then he hastened off to the capital to make the best of a situation, which, he rightly guessed, had caused no little commotion there.

He found the King, Binnya Dala, extremely suspicious of the Company's designs. No one ever settled on the island, and it was no place for trade, he told Westgarth. What, he asked, could be the Company's intention in settling at so remote a place? Westgarth did his utmost to assure the disgruntled monarch that the expedition was a peaceful one, and hinted that aid from the Company against the Burmese might be the reward for compliance with its requests. But the King would commit himself to nothing until such time as the official letters and presents from the Governor of Madras, entrusted to *Porto Bello*, should arrive. Later Westgarth had a more encouraging interview with the King's brother, the Uporaza, or Heir Apparent, the dominant personality at this ramshackle court. The latter assured him that the French proposals would not be entertained. The English had a long-standing connexion with the country, he said. They should therefore be given freedom of trade, notwithstanding French intrigues to the contrary. Westgarth returned to Syriam not ill-pleased with the impression he created. "I have strove much, ever since the French came here, to frustrate their schemes," he wrote off to the Fort St. George Council, "and I hope ere long (though I must work with caution) to have them quite rooted out of this place."[2]

1 *Ibid.*, 61-2.
2 *Ibid.*, 60.

On September 15th, much to Westgarth's relief, Thomas Taylor arrived at Syriam. With as little delay as possible the two Englishmen repaired to the Court of Pegu bearing the official letter and presents from the Governor of Madras. Earlier on, when news of Taylor's occupation of Diamond Island had first reached Pegu, a royal order had being issued commanding his presence at the capital to explain his intentions. His prompt arrival, before actually receiving this fiat, served to lull the government's worst suspicions. It added strength to Westgarth's previous assertions regarding the peaceable nature of the expedition. Also, at the latter's suggestion, Taylor wisely supplemented the official present with a gift of some guns, small arms and ammunition. His reception by the King therefore was not lacking in cordiality. He was promised the immediate restoration of the old factory site at Syriam together with all the trading privileges previously enjoyed there; and it was arranged that the Uporaza should go in person to make formal delivery of the land to Westgarth.

On the subject of Negrais, however, the king and his brother were adamant. The Company's official letter to the king was written in Persian, a language rarely met with by Burmese rulers in their diplomatic intercourse. There was some delay in the proceedings while a translation was being made. In the interval the Uporasa exerted every possible effort to dissuade Taylor from further pursuance of the project. The island was, he said, "a very sickly place," and a mere harbourage of rogues. Its grant to the English would cause them and the French to quarrel. Bassein was infinitely preferable for a settlement: the Dutch, he urged, had formerly carried on a prosperous trade there. On their return to the royal presence to hear the formal reading of the letter, Binnya Dala confronted the envoys with the same arguments. The letter itself clinched matters; it was on translation found to be couched in general terms only. There was no specific reference to Negrais in it. Here was a providential loophole for the King. Until the Company made formal request for the island, he said, nothing could be done. And from this position all further arguments failed to move either him or his brother. In a subsequent private interview the Uporaza told the discomfitted envoys that the French had never asked for the place. He had allowed the baseless rumour to became current in order to keep the English, as he said, "in suspense."[1]

So Taylor and Westgarth returned to Syriam, the former to superintend the repair of the *Porto Bello*, the latter to take over the factory site and assume the duties of Resident. Both wrote to Madras for further instructions. On September 29, the Uporasa arrived at Syriam to hand over the factory site.[2] This he did with due ceremonial on Sunday October 1st. At the same time he gave some sort of assent to a list of

1 *Ibid.*, 81.
2 *Ibid.*, 79.

trading privileges apparently drafted, and presented to him, by Westgarth. A copy of these was shortly afterwards submitted by the latter to the Madras Council, so that they might be embodied in a formal agreement to be negotiated with the Court of Pegu.[1]

Although Westgarth wrote saying that he "was at a loss to know" what exactly had been the former trading privileges of the Company in Burma, the draft articles to which he said he had secured the Uporaza's assent were largely a restatement, in slightly more favourable terms, of those upon the basis of which Sir Streynsham Master had in 1680 attempted to re-establish English trade with the country[2]. There was the same most-favoured-nation clause granting to Company's ships the right to pay no more than half the import duties levied on those of other nations[3]. Company's servants and British subjects trading under its protection were to enjoy freedom from interference on the part of the local officials. Disputes among the English were to be settled in accordance with English law by the Resident, who was to enjoy all the privileges exercised by former holders of the post. Country merchants, who broke their contracts, might be imprisoned or otherwise punished by the English according to Burmese custom[4]. The country government was to abstain from confiscating the estates of English subjects lying within its boundaries. The English were to be free to build and repair ships at Syriam without let or hindrance, especially in regard to such matters as the procurement of timber, etc., and the management of their lascars. Ships might leave Syriam freely, subject to the king being duly notified in each case. There was also a vague promise of free trade to all parts of the kingdoms of Pegu and Ava, and of free export of all the commodities produced therein.

How seriously the Uporaza's assent to these articles was to be taken the subsequent history of the negotiations with the Court of Pegu will show. His main object was to obtain a plentiful supply of military stores. The French had made great promises. But Bruno was away at Pondicherry, and nothing had yet materialised. The offer of generous terms to the English would serve as a useful hint to the French, and could easily be withdrawn if the latter fulfilled their promises. Meanwhile the Talaing government greatly embarrassed Thomas Taylor by its insatiable demands for arms and ammunition.[5]

The factory site handed over to Westgarth by the Uporaza was a mere heap of ruins. Pending instructions from Madras, he did nothing beyond enclosing it with a bamboo fence. He suggested the erection of a

1 "Preliminary Articles agreed to by Upper Raja on Sunday the 1st October 1752," Fort St. George Diary and Consultation Book, Military Department, 1753, 17-18.
2 Hall, *op. cit.*, 109-113.
3 Clause 2. Clause 4 of Streynsham Master's Articles.
4 Hall, *op. cit*, 113.
5 Fort St. George Diary and Consultation Book, Military Department, 1753, 18.

brick house and godown surounded by a plank fence, similar to the former factory, if the Fort St. George Council would be willing to incur so great an expense.[1] In all his letters Westgarth strove to impress upon the Madras Council the necessity for heavy expenditure if English influence in Burma were to be firmly re-established. The rebuilding of of the factory at Syriam would itself be a very costly undertaking. The struggle with the French in his eyes mainly resolved itself into a contest in bribery. To secure the upper hand the English, he insisted, must make more valuable presents than the French to the Court of Pegu. So pressing were his demands for money that his employers, in sending him a first draft of Rs. 10,000, thought fit to let drop a gentle hint that there was no intention to sink a great deal of money in the concern. The Residency at Syriam, he was reminded, had never previously put the Company to any expense. Hence he must be "as frugal as possible" in the matter of presents. He was advised to imitate the methods employed by such former Residents as Kelsal and Smart in carrying out his duties, and he was pointedly warned that he must submit his accounts with regularity.[2] Large commitments at Syriam or Pegu had no place in Thomas Saunders's schemes.

Taylor also received from the Madras Council at the same time a consignment of the same amount. When the money arrived, he and Westgarth, upon notifying the Court of Pegu, were gratified by its complete exemption from payment of customs duty. The King, in issuing the order, remarked that when the Company sent a great quantity of goods, he would take his customs. There followed a catastrophe, common enough in this land of bamboo houses, but decidedly suspicious when all the circumstances are taken into account. On December 28th, while the two men were away at Pegu, Westgarth's house at Syriam was burnt out. Most of the money stored there, including the consignments recently received by Taylor and himself from Madras, was saved, though a trifling portion was melted. But his books and papers were destroyed, together with some of the personal belongings of Taylor and Captain Grierson of the *Porto Bello* and much of the material purchased for the repair of that vessel.[3] Westgarth, in reporting the matter to the Madras Council, could offer no satisfactory explanation of the fire. "There are many people here," he wrote," when they want to plunder will go in the night and throw fire on straw houses on purpose to accomplish their wicked designs and I know not but this may have been my case."[4] But apparently nothing was plundered, nor did he allege any definite attempt. Subsequent events, as we shall see, serve to strengthen the suspicion that he was anxious for a plausible excuse for cooking his accounts.

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1 *Ibid.*, 1753, 17.
2 *Ibid.*, 1752, 62.
3 *Ibid.*, 1753, 28.
4 *Ibid.*, 1753, 28.

While the agents of the East India Company were thus engaged in re-establishing its influence in Burma, Bruno had been absent at Pondicherry. Early in November 1752 he returned to Syriam in a small sloop. He was the bearer of a letter from Dupleix to the King of Pegu. Of this soon after its delivery, Westgarth was able to procure a copy, the following rough translation of which he forwarded to Madras :

" I sent my people into your country last year to desire you to deliver them the ground the King of Ava formerly gave to the French Company, which you have done and gave my people many promises of your friendship and that you would send your ships to my port but I have seen none yet, and am surpriz'd you don't keep your word with me, for I have never seen anything that ever belong'd to you but a letter which nobody in my country could read so have sent Mr. Bruno again to you to know what you intend to do, and if you chuse to keep my friendship I desire you will help Moñs Bruno to get the new ship done with the utmost despatch and the eight guns he lent you last year, you must deliver back to him for the use of the ship, and on his departure I have order'd him to deliver the factory to the Revd. Padree Paulo Nirini till such time as I send my orders to him.[1]

Not a reference of any sort to the pledged military aid. Nor did Bruno bring with him the valuable present of warlike stores, including 500 stand of arms, that he was said to have promised on the occasion of his previous visit. Dupleix, it would appear, was playing for time. He had as yet received no reply from Paris to his letters on the subject of intervention in Burma. And he was already too deeply involved in India to embark upon an enterprise of such magnitude, so far from his base, without the active help of the home authorities. Binnya Dala was greatly annoyed by the letter. He refused to honour Bruno with an audience. The latter was informed that his business could be conducted only through the Uporaza. At the same time the insignia of a minister of state was pointedly conferred upon Westgarth. It consisted of a gold betel box, a goldmounted sword, and what the Englishman described as a " gurgelet with a gold cover "[2]

But the Sieur Bruno knew how to play his cards. There were at the time in Syriam two influential men, who viewed with alarm the revival of English influence in the country. One was an Armenian shipbuilder, Coja Nicous by name, who belonged to a community desperately hostile to the rise of English power in the East. The other was the Italian priest and schoolmaster, Father Nerini, who was devoted to the French interest. Together with these two men Bruno went privately to the Uporaza with a pretty story. The English, he said, intended to fortify Negrais. Then would the Queen of Hungary send four ships to join the English there,

1 *Ibid.*, 1753, 29.
2 *Ibid.*, 1753, 30.

and vengeance would be wreaked upon the Court of Pegu for the massacre of de Schonamille and his Ostenders in 1745. This information, said Bruno, he had been commissioned by Dupleix to convey to the King; and he was authorised to say that if the King would allow the French to establish a fort on the China Bakir river, they would engage to keep the Ostenders away. The manoeuvre succeeded in its immediate object. For although the Uporaza scouted the idea of allowing the French to fortify the China Bakir, his suspicions regarding English designs at Negrais were once more aroused. Bruno's influence indeed was soon in the ascendant, so much so that he boasted to Westgarth that he had warned the Uporaza of the possibility of a surprise attack by the English with the object of seizing the guns claimed by the French. When therefore Taylor and Westgarth complained to the King that the factory site granted by him to the French at Syriam belonged to Lewis Tornery, who, they claimed, was an English subject they could get no redress. The Court of Pegu, they soon found, was resolved to take full advantage of its position of *tertius gaudens* as between the rival companies. "He [the King] and the Upper Rajah," wrote Taylor to the Madras Council, "seems to me to be politick men, and will wave a discourse very dexterously when they don't like it and never want an excuse to evade any promises they make and when they give an orders to any Europeans for the Government here, they obey or disobey just as they please and to complain is no more than to make presents again and the same orders is given and serv'd as before without any notice taken."[1]

This episode was speedily followed by incidents at Syriam instigated by Bruno for the purpose of discrediting the English. Coja Nicous, the Armenian, seized an English officer of a ship, bound him and had him thrashed unmercifully in one of his godowns. When Westgarth, in his capacity of English Resident, laid formal complaint before the Yon at Syriam, Nicous sent a message to the Court of Pegu accusing the English of having gone armed to the Yon, and of having threatened the officers of government there. The King, who was building a new palace at Pegu, sent orders for Taylor and Westgarth to come to his assistance. When they arrived with lascars, ropes and blocks for hauling the gigantic wooden columns into position, and with the customary presents on such an auspicious occasion, they were met by the Uporaza, who soundly rated them for the alleged insult to the royal officials at Syriam. They rounded on him, and a stormy scene ensued. In such outspoken terms, in fact, did they defend themselves, that the official interpreter fearing for his own life dared not translate what they said. In the end peace was restored: the help they brought was welcome. And the King was sufficiently gratified to present Westgarth with an elephant and to commiserate with him on the loss of his house. (2) When, however, they returned to Syriam, they found that in their absence Nicous had committed

1 *Ibid.*, 1753, 30.
2 *Ibid.*, 1753, 34, 36.

a further outrage on an English sea-captain and had publicly announced that he would have the English colours pulled down and the English themselves hounded out of the country.[1] Protest to the Court of Pegu proved to be useless. It involved presents, false promises and further presents in an endless succession. Moreover, the King and Uporaza adopted an attitude of increasing coolness. Coja Nicous had become a *persona grata* at Court, and through his instrumentality Bruno's cause went ahead. So Taylor and Westgarth reported to Madras in March 1753.

This news had a decisive effect upon the mind of Thomas Saunders, Governor of Madras. From the moment when the rumour of French designs upon Burma was first whispered at Madras, he had been the moving spirit in the effort to checkmate them. But the early reports of Taylor and Westgarth had caused him to hesitate regarding the advisability of going on with the Negrais scheme; especially when he heard of the Uporaza's assertion that there never had been any intention of ceding the island to the French. In the meantime, however, the Directors of the East India Company at home had committed themselves to the new enterprise. In December 1751 instructions had been despatched to Madras detailing the procedure to be adopted in settling Negrais, and announcing the appointment of David Hunter, late Deputy Governor of St. Helena, to take charge of it, and of Thomas Coombes of the Fort Marlborough Council as second in command.[2] Indeed, the hope was expressed that arrangements for the settlement of the island had already been put in hand. This despatch found Saunders more anxious to throw his whole weight into furthering Stringer Lawrence's operations against the French in the Carnatic, than spare much-needed troops and ships upon a venture, which he had come to regard as of very doubtful value. He made no haste, therefore, to act upon his instructions. When, however, late in 1753 he received information from Taylor and Westgarth that on account of the strong francophile tendency of the Court of Pegu all hopes of negotiating the cession of Negrais were at an end, his doubts were resolved. Further delay, he felt, would be dangerous, and might "give time to our competitours to render the scheme abortive."[3] So, early in April, David Hunter in the *Colchester*, accompanied by the sloops *Porto Bello*, *Cuddalore* and *Fortune* and the snow *Arcot*, left Madras with a considerable company of troops and workpeople bound for Negrais. His instructions were "to take possession of the island in his Brittannick Majesty's name for the Company."[4] On April 26th, the expedition anchored at its destination.

Thus opened the first act of the tragedy of Negrais. But the full irony of the situation remains to be shown. For on January 2nd, 1753

1 *Ibid.*, 1753, 35.
2 Dodwell, Calendar of Madras Despatches, 1744-1755, 161-2.
3 Saunders's instructions to David Hunter in Fort St George Diary and Consulation Book, Military Department, 1753, 48.
4 *Ibid.*, 1753, 48.

the Council of the *Compagnie Générale des Indes Orientales* despatched a letter to Dupleix summarily rejecting his grand scheme for French expansion in Burma. The factory concessions already made to the French by the Court of Pegu, they wrote, were sufficient for ordinary proposes of shipbuilding, and would involve no more than a guard of twenty or thirty soldiers. Beyond that he was straitly forbidden to go. His more ambitious scheme, they warned him, would be certain to provoke a further contest with the English ; whereas the various nations should live at amity in Asia. And Dupleix, powerless in this case disregard his orders cursed the commercial mind and abandoned the project.[1]

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENT.

David Hunter's official instructions as head of the expedition to take possession of the island of Negrais display clearly the predominance of the political over the commerical motive in the enterprise.[1] He was first of all to seize the place. Then he was to offer the Court of Pegu a treaty of alliance whereby, in return for the Company engaging to support the King with troops "against his enemies foreign and domestick, by sea or land", the latter was to cede the island, grant permission for the erection of a fortified factory at Syriam, and confirm the articles of trade that Robert Westgarth had already negotiated with the Uporaza. Hunter was also instructed to demand "suitable satisfaction" for the outrages perpetrated by the Armenian Coja Nicous against British subjects. For the purpose of these negotiations he was furnished with an official letter and present from the President and Council of Fort St. George to the King of Pegu. Along with these he was also to forward to that King a letter from Muhammad Ali, the candidate supported by the Company for the nawabship of the Carnatic against Dupleix's tool, Chanda Sahib, wherein the writer assured the King that he might safely rely on the fidelity and friendship of the English by whom alone he (Muhammad Ali) had been preserved from the wicked attempts of his enemies.[2]

While preparations were in progress for the despatch of the Negrais expedition, Captain Dugald McEacharn arrived at Madras from Tavoy bringing a proposal from the "King" of that place for an alliance with the Company in return for which he promised a monopoly of the trade of his port. A Dutch threat to seize Tavoy by force in order to exploit its not inconsiderable tin trade was the alleged cause of this move. At this time Tavoy was, nominally at least, subject to Siam. Its ruler, however, like most petty princes in Indo-China, enjoyed a large measure

1 Fort St. George Diary and Consultation Book, Military Department, 1753, 48-9.
2 *Ibid.*, 1753, 42 The contents of the letter were drawn up by Thomas Saunders.

of practical independence so long as he paid his tribute. His entire object in negotiating with the Company was apparently to procure as extensive supplies of arms and ammunition as possible. These the Madras Council was in no position to provide to a prince likely to be of no use to it in the struggle with the French. Also the "king" of Tavoy was reported to be a supporter of the Burmese cause against the Talaings. The Madras Council therefore contented itself with a non-committal statement of friendship, and at the same time regretted that its embarrassments in the Carnatic struggle prevented it from having any warlike stores to spare.[1] A letter couched in these terms and addressed to the "king" was entrusted to David Hunter with private instructions that if he had an opportunity to transmit it to its destination, he should give the Court of Pegu to understand that nothing prejudicial to its interests was intended.[2]

The recruitment of men for the expedition to Negrais was particularly difficult. Taylor's experiences in that neighbourhood had given it a bad name. Thomas Coombes, who had been named by the Directors as second in command, excused himself on the plea of ill-health. In his place a young 'writer' in the Company's service at Madras, Henry Brooke, was selected by Hunter to proceed with him upon the unwelcome task.[3] The requisite artificers and labourers for building the new station had to be impressed, a "very despotick act", as Thomas Saunders expressed it in his instructions to Hunter, but one which was forced upon him by the exceptional circumstances. Hence they must be especially well treated, he warned Hunter, and, if country labour could be substituted, should be returned to Madras without delay. On account of the Carnatic struggle Madras could not furnish the expedition with adequate stores of rice and gunpowder. An urgent request was therefore despatched to the "gentlemen at Bengal" asking them to purvey direct to the new settlement supplementary supplies of those necessaries.[4] Similarly troops for the garrison could ill be spared, and reinforcements, urgently needed by Stringer Lawrence for the defence of Tiruviti against

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1 *Ibid.*, 1753, 37-8. Dodwell, *op. cit.*, 210.

2 Captain Dugald McEacharn, the moving spirit in this overture, had brought over a draft treaty and had even gone so far as to hoist the British colours over his house at Tavoy in anticipation of being made Resident there. The affair has all the appearance of a 'stunt' out of which McEacharn hoped to do a good thing for himself. Nothing came of the proposal. In June 1753 he returned to Tavoy with a present of a brass field piece and guncarriage to its ruler from the Madras Council, and with a letter to that potentate stating that the Company accepted his offer of exclusive trade "with great chearfulness" but regretted its inability to supply him with either men or munitions on account of the "troubles" in "these parts". Fort St. George Diary and Consultation Book, Military Department, 1753, 95, 99.

3 *Ibid.*, 1753, 39. Brooke was 25 years of age at the time. He had served at Madras since August 1751.

1 *Ibid.*, 1753, 39.

Dupleix's lieutenant Maissin, had to be depleted in order that a guard of 34 Europeans and 72 "coffreys"[1] might sail with the expedition.[2]

On April 26th, 1753 Hunter's expedition arrived at the island and anchored off the spot previously indicated by Thomas Taylor as the best site for a settlement. It soon became evident that Taylor's very cursory survey of the locality was of little value. The chosen spot for the erection of a fortified post was entirely without a water supply. After two days' search one was discovered near the north-east point of the island. But the locality was covered with dense jungle, and it took a week of clearing operations before a camp could be pitched and the soldiery disembarked. Even then water had to be carried a quarter of a mile to the camp. There followed a dreary succession of disasters. The expedition, as we have seen, started out from Madras with inadequate supplies of rice. It had been hoped that food could be procured in the Negrais neighbourhood. So, after the work of pitching the camp and disembarking the troops had been completed, Hunter resorted to the mad expedient of cutting down the food supplies of the coffreys and ordering them to fend for themselves by hunting.[3] A serious mutiny ensued. The infuriated coffreys seized firearms and ammunition and attacked the Europeans, who were for a time forced to take refuge on the ships. But the mutineers were unable to make effective use of their arms, and a successful counter-attack by the Europeans cleared the camp. The rebels, however, got away into the jungle with a good deal of plunder, and although most of the latter was ultimately recovered, only ten of the mutineers were captured. The remainder either fled to the mainland or were drowned in attempting to swim the channel.

The loss of so many labourers seriously hindered the work of building the accomodation urgently needed on shore. To make matters worse the wet monsoon broke with great violence soon after the arrival of the expedition. The settlement was regularly flooded at high tide, and a decimating sickness broke out, almost completely suspending operations. Provisions ran so short that when at the end of September Hunter despatched his first report to Madras, he represented that his small company was only kept alive by the turtle, which could be caught in abundance on Diamond Island.[4] The "multitude of tigers", he said, rendered it practically impossible to hunt with success the deer and buffaloes, with which Haing gyi was well stocked. As for trading prospects, these, he

1 Arabic *Kāfir*—an infidel, unbeliever in Islam. Name applied by English to black Hindu peoples of South India.

2 For these operations see Camb. Hist. of India, V, 130-31.

3 I have accepted Dalrymple's version of the affair in *op. cit*, I, 126, Hunter's own report of the affair is specious: "Our people had work'd so well that I thought proper that evening to give orders for a party of them to go a hunting the next day or otherwise to divert themselves as they lik'd." (Fort St. George Diary and Consultation Book, Military Department, 1753, 173.)

4 *Ibid.*, 1753, 175–176.

thought, were hopeless, since the proximity of the sea rendered it dangerous for country craft, built only for riverine use, to traffic with the island.

It was a melancholy report written by a sick man, who begged to be allowed to return to Madras before the beginning of the next wet monsoon, as he feared he might not survive a further spell of it in so unhealthy a locality. He had sent Henry Brooke to conduct the negotiations with the Court of Pegu. What were the chances of success in that direction, he could not say. Brooke was detained at Syriam by sickness. There was, however, one hopeful sign: on September 9th Thomas Taylor had arrived from Pegu with a royal order to the Governor of Bassein granting permission for the Company to establish a factory there and Hunter had accordingly despatched Taylor thither with all speed "to reside there in the best manner he could for the present".

The Madras Council on receipt of this despatch hastened to send across a small supply of provisions, and such reinforcements as they could spare —a meagre thirty men. At the same time they wrote off urgently to Calcutta to forward a cargo of salted meat, rice and other cereals to the harassed settlement. But to Hunter's request to be allowed to return to the Coast to recuperate his health they returned a courteous but firm refusal. He was reminded that the Board of Directors had specially appointed him to command the expedition. This had been done over the heads of the Madras Council, which had been given no further powers in the matter than those of affording him "all the assistance we are able". Having provided him with a second-in-command in the person of Henry Brooke, they had, they opined, discharged their full responsibility in respect of the management of the expedition. As the success of the new venture was "of the utmost consequence", his absence at so early a stage might gravely prejudice it. Instead, they offered him the helpful suggestion that he might take up his residence at Syriam during the monsoon period, and direct operations from that more salubrious spot.[1] The next letter they received from Negrais came from Henry Brooke. He announced that on December 24th "David Hunter Esq., departed this life of a fever which continued eight days."[2]

The attitude of the Madras Council towards Hunter in this business is somewhat intriguing. A mere superficial glance at conditions in South India at the time will be sufficient to show that Madras could spare little help for what it had come to regard as an undertaking of doubtful value. It is possible, also, that Governor Thomas Saunders was piqued at having been granted by the Directors so little discretion in the matter of the Negrais expedition. But the true explanation probably lies in the personality of Hunter himself. Of overweening ambition, he was cold,

1 *Ibid.*, 1753, 177, 185-187.
2 *Ibid.*, 1754, 14.

haughty and difficult to work with. According to Dalrymple he had no real interest in the Negrais scheme, but regarded his appointment there as a stepping stone to the presidential chair at Madras. Moreover he had influential connexions at home: he was related by marriage to Alderman Baker of the City of London, who had been Chairman of the East India Company in 1752. Such a man, able to pull strings at home, would not be welcomed back to Madras from the malarial swamp to which for the time being he had been relegated.[1]

Hunter's death brought a most unwelcome problem before the Madras Council. A successor had to be appointed. Members of the Council, in deadly fear of being called upon to take up the unpopular post, waxed eloquent in their efforts to prove that a man of council rank was not required. All except Thomas Saunders were of opinion that the appointment should be given to a man "skilled in fortification and maritime affairs".[2] Thomas Saunders alone plumped for a man of council rank: and on the score of the precarious condition of affairs at Negrais he overruled the objections of the rest of the Council. It is interesting in passing to note that what is reported of this discussion shows clearly that commercial considerations were entirely in the background.

But it was one thing to appoint a man, and another thing to persuade him to accept the post. After much difficulty Charles Hopkins, Chief at Devecotah was selected.[3] He put forward the plea of ill-health, and escaped. Two others, Percival and Smith, similarly evaded the much-dreaded task. Finally the Council decided that its only possible course was to leave Henry Brooke in chief command of the station, and appoint Thomas Taylor to the position of second-in-command.[4] The latter was at the time titular Resident at Syriam. Westgarth, having disregarded repeated warnings regarding his extravagance and exorbitant charges for repairs to ships, had early in 1754 been ordered to Madras to explain his conduct. A committee appointed to scrutinize his accounts had pronounced them "irregular, perplex'd and contradictory, which must proceed from ignorance or something worse".[5]

In Taylor's place at Syriam it was decided to appoint a shipwright named Henry Stingfellow, who was already in business there privately. But it was laid down that he was to receive no allowances, "as the station is only nominal and merely to keep up our protensions to a factory

1 Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 125. According to this authority the Alderman "disqualified" at about the time when Hunter was proceeding to Negrais, and thus put an end to the latter's hopes.

2 Fort St. George Diary and Consultation Book, Military Department, 1754, 19-20

3 *Ibid.*, 1754, 34-39.

4 *Ibid.*, 1754, 56-7.

5 Madras Public Proceedings (India Office copy), 1754, 166-7, 172-3. He was dismissed the Company's service. (Dodwell, *op. cit.*, 218)

there".[1] This last point is interesting. Since Westgarth had formally taken possession of the old factory site and enclosed it with a bamboo fence, nothing had been towards reopening the factory. There is, in fact, ample evidence to show that the Madras Council never intended to reopen it. Thus although Hunter, on setting out upon his ill-starred venture, received official instructions to ask for "a factory and fortification at Syriam", he was also told to explain to the Court of Pegu that he was establishing a settlement at Negrais as "a place of more safety", and because "the risque of Pegu river renders it hazardous for ships of large burthen." [2] And in a personal letter accompanying the instructions Thomas Saunders wrote for his guidance: "If you succeed in this affair, I imagine there will not be a necessity of a fortification at Syrian, as all trade and business can, I am informed, be much better carried on from the Negrais."[3] The factory was never reopened Stringfellow carried on in his capacity of Resident without allowance until Alaungpaya's capture and destruction of Syriam in 1756. That is to say, he was a private shipwright recognised by the Company as its agent for the execution of repairs to its ships at Syriam.

Notwithstanding Thomas Taylor's early description of Negrais as a place "as valuable as any the King of Pegu has", and one which produced wax, ivory, wood oil, resin, teak and some iron,[4] it was not long before the Madras Council came to realise that not only could no commercial advantages be expected from the new settlement, but its upkeep was an almost intolerable burden. Its toll upon health and even life was nothing short of disastrous. In spite of all efforts to check their devastations, malaria and "bloody flux" so decimated the working numbers of Europeans and Indians alike as to render the task of carrying on the ordinary work of the settlement practically hopeless. Thus, although David Hunter reached the island on April 26th, 1753, he was still living on board ship on September 20th, when he despatched his first report to Madras. "We have begun to build some houses for our accomodation," he wrote, "and I hope soon to take up my quarters ashore.....This month past we have not been able to do anything, all our artificers and lascars being sick." And at the end of the same letter; "Mr. Maul, our surgeon, being very much indispos'd, I have permitted him to return to the Coast for the benefit of his health. This happens extremely unfortunate, as I have scarcely a man about me, either officer or private, but what are sick."[5]

At first it was hoped that the thorough clearance of the factory site would render it healthier. But this proved illusory. In January 1754

1 Madras Public Proceedings, 1754, 677. Fort St. George Diary and Consultation Book, Military Department, 1754, 73, 74-5.
2 *Ibid.*, 1753, 48.
3 *Ibid.*, 1753 49.
4 *Ibid.*, 1752, 61.
5 *Ibid.*, 1753, 175-6.

Henry Brooke wrote despondently to the Madras Council: "We have also had such an universal sickness for some months past raging amongst us, that of the [military] not half have been able to do duty, of 40 lascars [not] 20 in the best days could be muster'd to the works. The 40 Bengal lascars and coolies also, tho' they arriv'd here in November last have fallen sick in proportion, and the Mallabars to a man have been render'd useless."[1] In the same month Charles Knapton, the engineer sent to supervise the construction of fortifications, wrote that the works designed by Hunter would require 500 men working full time for at least six or seven months, but that was impossible, since during the monsoon months there were not five "well men" on the island.[2]

By that time it was generally agreed that the main cause of the trouble lay in the fact that at every spring tide the whole site was flooded, and with the ebb the shore was "covered with ooze and small fry, which putrifying must viciate the air."[3] Such a spot could never develop into a centre of commerce. Worse still, it was overlooked by a hill at the back and was therefore not easily defensible. There was, Brooke reported, a better site at the north-east point of the island, "wholesome" and with what he was assured by the seamen was a safe and convenient harbour. It could be well defended by placing a battery on the north-west point. He recommend therefore that this new site should be tried. The Madras Council accepted the recommendation, and in October 1754 authorised the removal of the settlement to the proposed site. Brooke, however, was warned not to construct any "expensive or capital" works; but to put up merely what was necessary for immediate defence against a "country enemy".[4] Until further experience should indicate how the new site was likely to turn out, as little money as possible was to be spent upon it. Meanwhile the whole question was referred home to the Board of Directors.[5]

But the removal of the settlement to a better site afforded no solution to the commercial problem. And although political rather than commercial considerations had been the main cause of the establishment of the settlement, it had been hoped that enough trade would develop there to cover at least the cost of maintenance. This hope also proved illusory. David Hunter was not long on the island before he realized that if trade was to develop, it could only be through the establishment of a factory at Bassein. Hence, when the Court of Pegu urged this step as a means of drawing the English away from Negrais, he sent Thomas Taylor to open up trading operations at Bassein. Shortly afterwards he wrote to Madras: "If ever we shall be so fortunate as to have

1 *Ibid.*, 1754, 16.
2 *Ibid.*, 1754, 30.
3 Madras Public Proceedings, (MS) 1754, 676-7.
4 *Ibid.*, 1754, 677.
5 Coast and Bay Abstracts, Vol. 6, 28.

our affairs settled with the Pegu Government, I think that place Persaim must be the head settlement. It lies in the centre of trade and is able to subject any number of men, whereas the Negrais has neither of these advantages."[1]

On Hunter's death Henry Brooke pressed the same view upon the Madras Council. In January 1754 he wrote of the Negrais settlement: "I cannot think it will be for many years, if ever, a place of profit to the Hon'ble Company. The country for 80 or 100 miles about is compos'd of islands almost entirely destitute of inhabitants, and cover'd with woods. A fine harbour, plenty of wood and good water, but scarce in the dry season, are the only advantages it can boast of. It is in itself incapable of maintaining a number of inhabitants, and must therefore be dependant on other places for the necessaries of life. And the great river leading to Persaim and Ava, from whence all provisions and merchandise must come, lies open to the sea above us, and is at most times, but particularly in the south-west monsoons, extremely dangerous for the country boats to approach us. These inconveniences will ever make provisions scarce. Persaim, which lies about 80 miles from hence, has none of these inconveniencies. It has, by all accounts, the advantage of a fine air, a good rice country about it, a river safe and navigable for the largest ships, and is capable of maintaining any number of inhabitants. I am therefore of opinion, if ever the Hon'ble Company may reap a profit from the trade of this country, they must make Persaim the head settlement."[2]

The Madras Council was not at first in a hurry to act upon these proposals. To Hunter they returned an inclusive answer, though at the same time suggesting that he might enquire whether Bassein was a suitable place to which trade might be transferred from Syriam.[3] But, as time went on, and prospects at Negrais failed to improve, the idea began to chrystalise of opening up a big trading centre at Bassein, while still retaining Negrais as a guard post, from which the entrance to the river might be commanded. When therefore in March 1754 the Council heard that it was about to be favoured with a mission from the Court of Pegu soliciting military aid against the Burmese leader, Alaungpaya, it was decided for the time being to suspend construction of the extensive fortifications, originally planned for Negrais, and Henry Brooke was instructed to press for the cession of Bassein together with the surrounding country to a radius of some five or six miles.[4] But he was warned to erect no buildings at the new station until a treaty had been concluded: for the time being a "slight banksall" would suffice.

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1 Fort St. George Diary and Consulation Book, Military Department, 1753, 175.
2 *Ibid.*, 1754, 15.
3 *Ibid.*, 1753, 186.
4 *Ibid.*, 1754, 73-4.

The story of the abortive negotiations for this proposed treaty is told in the next chapter. Whether Thomas Saunders seriously expected to obtain so extensive a cession of territory at Bassein is doubtful. But the situation which dictated the proposal is clear. The Negrais settlement had become a very costly white elephant, and it imposed upon the Madras Council's resources a greater strain than they could continue to bear.[1] For strategical reasons it was deemed necessary to hang on to the island; since, although the French could apparently do nothing on a big scale in Burma, the presence of Bruno at the Court of Pegu constituted a threat to the English naval position in the Bay of Bengal. If, however, the island was to be retained, trade with the country must be developed in order to render the settlement as nearly self-supporting as possible. Syriam, for reasons already explained, was not favoured as a trading centre. And Bassein possessed the obvious advantage of direct and easy communication with Negrais.

But the prospects of successful trade there were by no means rosy. Thomas Taylor, the Company's first Resident, obtained some sort of recognition from the Uporaza, and started a timber trade on a small scale. But apparently the Talaing officials made his task as trying and difficult as possible. And when the treaty negotiations lapsed in the autumn of 1754, he warned the Madras Council that so long as the Court of Pegu held Bassein there was slight hope of the Company developing successful trade there. " Persaim by all accounts is a wholesome country," he wrote. " At least I found it so from the beginning of of September till March, at which time our people were sickly at Negrais. It is a ruined city that formerly belonged to the Portugueze, and at present round the ruins is a fence made of thick plank about twelve or fourteen feet high. It is about 1400 yards in length and about 900 yards in breadth. It has likewise a ruined citadel of about 350 yards in length and 250 yards in breadth, and round the outside of the walls for about two mile is the ruins of many brick houses, Mallabar and Pegu pagodas. It seems as if it had been a place of great consequence. The Tallapoys have informed me that by their manuscripts a great number of Chinamen inhabited this place, and they not only traded to the east part of China, but to the west part overland; and at the time the Portugueze governed the city, it had a very extensive trade, and that the N. E. point of the Little Negrais was then inhabited. We have discovered there a foundation of a brick house and a large Malabar tank.

Persaim River has a communication with the grand river to Ava and joins it a little below Prone. And I have been informed by Burmur merchants and Armenians, who have lived in Ava many years; that great

1 By October 1755 it was estimated that the expenses of maintaining the settlement since its foundation totalled 59, 528 pagodas, and that the shipping and workmen employed in connexion with it cost between five and six thousand rupees a month. On this outlay there had been hardly any return. (Coast and Bay Abstracts, Vol. 6, 72.)

quantities of saltpetre has been produced in the country beween Prome and Ava, and before the revolution it might be bought at the rate of eight pagodas per candy for the first sort. The country likewise produces silk and cotton, and I think in all probability a cloth manufactory might be carried on, as I have never seen a house without a loom and spinning wheel, and that we may dispose of great quantities of woollen cloths. The people in general seen to be fond of it, and what is now sold goes through the Malabar hands, so that by the time the Peguers or Burmurs gets it, [it] amounts to near one hundred per cent. on the Madras price.

The present Government of Pegue is excessively arbitrary, so that the King, when he pleases, can demand everything in the world that any of his subjects has. And if there is any such thing as slavery in the world, I think the Peguers wear that yoke. And they think that all Europeans, that come into their country, is as much their slaves, and that they have as much right to their properties as to their own subjects'. And it is from this principle that they are jealous of having a European power independant of them in their country."[1]

So, at the end of the year 1754 two things had become clear : firstly that without a sucessful trading station at Bassein the Negrais settlement would become a dead weight upon the Company's finances ; and secondly that while the Court of Pegu held sway over lower Burma there was little hope for the development of English trade in that region.

CHAPTER III.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH PEGU AND AVA.

The grant of trading privileges reported by Robert Westgarth as the result of his early negotations with the Uporaza had been viewed by Madras with entire scepticism. Almost immediately after Hunter's expedition left Madras, however, concrete evidence of a favourable turn to English fortunes in Pegu was forthcoming. A vessel belonging to the King entered the port with a cargo for disposal there. It brought a letter from Westgarth containing the interesting information that the King had refused Bruno's application that it should be sent to Pondicherry. Hoping therefore that by a show of generosity on its part this auspicious breeze might be encouraged to blow with constancy, the Madras Council decreed that the goods belonging to the King should be landed free of customs duties, and further that two gilt palanquins should be sent by the ship on her return voyage as presents to the King and Uporaza.[2]

But constancy was quite the last virtue to be expected of the Court of Pegu, especially in view of the circumstances in which it was placed

1 Madras Public Proceedings, 1754, 702.
2 *Ibid*, 1753, 52–3.

Hunter in his first letter from Negrais warned the Madras Council to place no confidence whatever in the rebel government. "The reputation of our forces," he wrote, "seem'd at first to fling them into some consternation, and their fears, I believe, induc'd them to flatter Mr. Westgarth with fair promises. But notwithstanding all we have done, and the concessions they have made, I am yet far from depending on their sincerity. The trouble they are at present involv'd in with the former lords of the country about Ava takes up most of their attention, and not without reason, if I am rightly informed. The family, who lately possess'd the government, have a strong party and gain ground daily ; and I think it is very probable they may in a short time recover their kingdom again. The present King of Pegu was formerly a silversmith at Syriam, and his brother, the Upparajah, was a writer in the Alfantiga.[1] I am told the people in general talk contemptuously of them, so far as they dare under the yoke of an absolute tyrant. It seems a mob rais'd him to the dignity, and it is not unlikely the same fluctuating spirit may soon pull him down again. If this should happen, our presents and our solli-citation has [*sic*] hitherto been to very little purpose. "[2]

As soon as possible after the founding of the Negrais settlement Hunter deputed Henry Brooke to Syriam with the royal present and the official letters from the Madras Council to the King of Pegu. Brooke took with him a signed and ratified copy of the articles of trade previously negotiated by Robert Westgarth with the Uporaza. He was instructed to carry out his business in concert with Westgarth.[3] The Court of Pegu, however, refused to have anything to do with Brooke. It would not negotiate with a subordinate Instead, Westgarth was despatched to Negrais with a royal order for Hunter himself to appear at Court. When this invitation was politely refused, the Pegu authorities began a campaign of systematic obstruction to English shipbuilding and repairing operations at Syriam. When Westgarth appealed to the Government, publicly it granted all his requests for workmen and supplies ; privately it instructed its local officials to refuse them. Native labour was terrorised into boycotting the English, and the Company's own lascars even were enticed away.[4]

On January 11th, 1754, with affairs at this pass, and Hunter dead, Henry Brooke wrote despondently from Negrais: "The King and Rajah,[5] as well as Peguers in general, [?are] extreamly jealous of foreigners, since the time of the Portuguese, who defended their fort at Syriam for many years against their whole nation.[6] It will not therefore be an easy matter to prevail on them to ratify the Articles agreeable

1 Customs House.
2 *Ibid*, 1753, 174-5.
3 *Ibid*, 1755, 175.
4 *Ibid*, 1754, 18.
5 *i.e.* the Uporaza, called in much of the correspondence the Upper Raja.
6 A reference to Felipe de Brito's occupation of Syriam, 1599-1613.

to Mr. Hunter's plan."[1] "The King of [Pegu is] only trifling and drawing us," wrote Westgarth at the same time from Syriam, "for I plainly perceive they have no inclination to com[ply] with our demands any further than what fear induces them to."[2] A little later he reported that the chief objections raised by the Court of Pegu to the Articles were to the clauses granting to the Company most-favoured-nation treatment and the right to import goods duty free.[3] Brooke therefore was authorized to reply—in writing, not in person—that these privileges constituted "no more than what is granted to us on this Coast by the Mogull, who is sensible that by this indulgence we have been induced to carry on a very extensive trade."[4] He was also to emphasize the fact that the Company offered the King reciprocal trading advantages in all its settlements. This, we may remark, was far from being a *quid pro quo*, since the amount of trade carried on by natives of Burma at the Company's stations in India was negligible.

Meanwhile developments were in progress which caused another temporary relaxation on the part of the Court of Pegu of its intransigent attitude towards the English. In December 1753 the Burmese patriot-hero, Alaungpaya, had recaptured the ancient capital city of Ava, and early in the following month the Pegu forces had been cleared headlong out of Upper Burma. And Dupleix, dissatisfied with the shilly-shallying conduct of the Court of Pegu in the negotiations with Bruno, had despatched some boatloads of military stores to the Burmese.[5] To deal with this new danger the Uporaza hurried northwards with all his available forces. Before his departure he intimated to Westgarth that if the Company would come to his assistance, it might trade at Bassein on its own terms. And a Talaing Mission, headed by no other than the Armenian, Coja Nicous, was deputed to Madras urgently beseeching the Council to send over men and arms.[6]

Early in April 1754 Nicous and his subordinate Toppelo, who according to the custom of his country was charged with the task of spying upon his chief's actions, had an audience of Thomas Saunders at Madras. They represented that in return for an annual present the King would allow the company to hold the Island of Negrais, and would grant free trade at the towns of Syriam, Bassein, Martaban, Prome, Pegu, "Tangoore", and "Don Bassey", and certain other privileges. To Saunders's query whether, on account of the proved unsuitability of Negrais as a trading station, Bassein might be occupied for this purpose, Nicous replied that although the Court of Pegu hesitated to raise up a

1 *Ibid*, 1754, 15,
2 *Ibid*, 1754, 17.
3 *Ibid*, 1754, 64, 72.
4 *Ibid*, 1754, 72,
5 *Ibid*, 1753, 196.
6 *Ibid*, 1754, 64, 74.

rival port to the detriment of Syriam, he had no doubt that all objections to this would vanish, if the much-needed troops and warlike stores were forthcoming. Saunders thereupon stated "that he would very readily assist the King, if the Company's affairs would admit of it." And he added that in proof of his friendly intentions he would send over a detachment of troops for the King's service, if the ships arriving from England that season brought the expected reinforcements.[1] And he followed up the discussion by ordering that a treaty should be at once drafted, embodying all the points upon which agreement had been reached.

When the draft was presented to the ambassadors, it turned out, as had all along been anticipated, that they were invested with no "conclusive power". Saunders, however, would commit himself to nothing until such time as the Talaing promises should be confirmed by a written document under the royal seal of Pegu. Accordingly late in July a copy of the proposed treaty was despatched to Henry Brooke at Negrais, with instructions to do his best to secure the Court of Pegu's official ratification.[2] And the ambassdors were dismissed with the injunction that they were to return by way of Negrais, where they would pick up Thomas Taylor, who would accompany them to Pegu for the purpose of completing the negotiations. Military aid, however, Saunders told them rather disingenuously, could not immediately be sent, as the ship, on which they were to return, carried French colours, and no other was then available.[3] They were furnished with a present of "Europe Curiositys" for the King and Uporaza ; a musical clock, a silver-mounted gun, a pair of silver-mounted pistols and "a curious agate cabinet set in gold" for the former ; for the latter a brass-mounted gun, pistols and a "gold repeating watch curiously ornamented with Mocha stone" The total cost of these amounted to a little over 635 pagodas.[4] It was hoped that they would be an "introduction" to the treaty.[5]

The draft treaty[6] purported to be one of friendship and alliance between "the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies" and "the great King of Pegue, Son of the Sun and Brother of the Moon and Stars." By the first two clauses the King was to cede to the Company "freely and absolutely" the island of Negrais and the town of Bassein. The third conferred upon the Company and its servants "full and unlimited" trading privileges at the towns named by the ambassadors. By the fourth the Company was to have "free liberty" to employ the people of the country at the "usual and

1 *Ibid*, 1754, 86.
2 *Ibid*, 1754, 168-9
3 *Ibid*, 1754, 166.
4 *Ibid*, 1754, 169.
5 *Ibid*, 1754, 169.
6 *Ibid*., 1754, 166-8.

accustomed wages." The fifth assured the Company of royal support in the maintenance of its privileges.

In return for these concessions the Company, by clause six, was to present the King annually with " some European or other curiosity " in respect of its tenure of Negrais and Bassein. By clause seven reciprocity of treatment in commerce was to be given to the King and his subjects at all the Company's ports in India. Clause eight contained the kernel of the proposed alliance. By it the Company pledged itself "to aid, assist and defend the King of Pegue and his successors against all their enemys by sea and land, and for that purpose to furnish such a number of troops with proper warlike stores, as the occasion may necessarily require, and the said Company can conveniently spare from the defence and protection of their own territories," upon condition, however, that the King defrayed the whole cost both of the troops and of the warlike stores. Finally in clause nine the Company promised to give no aid to the " King " of Tavoy, were he to attack Pegu, but to protect and defend the latter against the former, should the occasion arise.

Regarding this document one question immediately arises: did Governor Saunders seriously contemplate armed intervention in Burma? Both in form and in intention this draft treaty is an early example of a type of agreement that the East India Company was coming to make with Indian princes in order to strengthen its position, mainly, of course, as against the French.[1] The obvious aim of this one was the elimination of French influence from Burma. In sending to Henry Brooke the copy of the draft treaty Saunders urged him " to bring affairs to a speedy and successful conclusion," and Thomas Taylor was instructed to "press the immediate entering on the affairs."[2] But this haste had as its objective rather the queering of Bruno's pitch than actual military intervention on behalf of Pegu. If the former could only be accomplished by means of the latter, then Thomas Saunders must first have a treaty before committing himself. What the Court of Pegu offered in the hour of crisis, it would, he well knew, retract in the moment of victory. His proposals, therefore committed the Company to nothing. If the Talaings wanted military assistance—and the urgency of this was not lost upon Saunders—the price at which the Company would afford it was the cession of Negrais and Bassein together with most-favoured-nation treatment in commerce. But the wording of clause eight of the proposed treaty left ample loop-holes by which, if necessary, the Company might escape from its obligations. We know also that the English entered upon these negotiations with one eye upon the Burmese. During the rainy season of 1754 Alaungpaya was consolidating his power in Upper Burma preparatory to undertaking a great onslaught upon Pegu during the ensuing dry

1 Cp. in particular the Treaty with the Nizam negotiated by Brigadier John Calliaud in 1766. (Aitchison, "Treaties, Engagements and Sanads," VIII, 280-283.)

2 Fort St. George Diary and Consultation Book, Military Department, 1754, 169.

season. No one could say in what direction the fortunes of war would turn when the campaigning season recommenced in November.

But to the Court of Pegu Dupleix's present of arms and ammunition to Alaungpaya was a more powerful argument than paper promises of conditional assistance, without the backing of even an instalment of real aid. Taylor's visit to Pegu therefore achieved nothing. Even a present of two magnificent palanquins from Madras to the King and his brother failed to move that "perfideous court."[1] When on delivering this present Taylor pressed them to come to terms, they flatly refused to entertain any notion of ceding territory at Bassein, and revived their old objections to the Negrais settlement. But in order that the negotiations should not drop, they hinted at the possibility of allowing the Company to occupy a spot on the Syriam river in return for a considerable annual present.[2] Taylor, however, left Pegu in disgust, and the treaty was shelved indefinitely. Meanwhile the French were supplying the Talaings with military stores, and the influence of Bruno was predominant at Pegu.

At the beginning of the dry season of 1754-5 a great Talaing counter-thrust at Ava failed ignominiously. At about the same time, in November, Thomas Taylor returned to Madras ill and worn out.[3] From the account, which he gave, of conditions in Burma, Thomas Saunders made up his mind finally that the Burmese were the winning side. He accordingly wrote off to Henry Brooke instructing him to cultivate friendly relations with Alaungpaya.[4] Shortly afterwards he handed over the reins of power at Madras to his successor, the more cautious and conciliatory Pigot.

In February 1755 Alaungpaya took Prome. Early in March the Talaings, under the pressure of the Burmese victorious advance into Lower Burma, evacuated Bassein. The Burmese, upon reaching the town, burnt it to the ground, though studiously avoiding injury to the Company's godowns there. A few days later a Burmese embassy appeared before the Company's house at Bassein announcing to Captain George Baker, who was in charge of the station, that they were the bearers of a letter from the Burmese King to the Company's Chief at Negrais desiring friendship and alliance[5]. Baker accompanied the envoys to Negrais, where they were accorded a friendly reception. For the time being, however, Henry Brooke could do no more than return a non-committal answer: he was without definite instructions for dealing with so unexpected a development. Moreover, he had neither men nor military stores to spare. But he felt that the situation should at once be taken in hand, and he despatched the following penetrating survey of it to George Pigot;—

1 Dodwell, *op. cit.*, 257.
2 Coast and Bay Abstracts, Vol. 6, 48.
3 He died in March 1755. (*Ibid.*, Vol. 6, 76.)
4 Dodwill, *op. cit.*, 257.
5 Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 137.

"To conclude with the King of Pegu on advantageous terms I now despair of. How can we expect it, when even now, though he wants our assistance, yet he will not assure us that he will maintain our soldiers, though they should fight and lose their lives in the defence of his country? Has he not used us ill on all occasions? Has he not, as much as in him lay, underhand endeavoured to ruin us, by preventing the people to work for us and to bring us rice, etc., victuals, though his country might have supplied us? There is much difference between soliciting and being solicited. We are pursuing the man who is unwilling to assist us, yet, if he had it in his power, would not; and are courted by the King of Ava, who is ready and able to favour us. To turn the deaf ear to his address and tender of his friendship would in my opinion be an act of imprudence. But you cannot listen to him without offending the other. What then is the medium? Had we a force here sufficient to carry weight, we could easily turn the balance of power in favour of the Buraghmahns. To accomplish this would require brisk force. And a vessel to lye at Dagon, in Syrian river, would be absolutely necessary, and would not only prevent supplies of arms, etc., from passing through Syrian river, but prevent all the King (of Pegu's) war boats from going up the rivers towards Prome. Then the Buraghmahns could come even to Syrian unmolested, which together with a junction of our troops by these rivers, would probably carry everything before them, and settle the affairs of this place in one campaign. But should we not concern ourselves in this affair, the French, who have openly espoused the Peguers' cause at Syrian, may turn the scale against the Buraghmahns, which now seems to incline to their side. What should we then expect from his Majesty of Pegu? Or yet, in case the Burghmahns should meet with success in the next campaign without our assistance, we cannot then hope for those favourable conditions we may at this juncture reasonably expect. I have thus candidly given you my opinion of our affairs here, that you may be acquainted with the most minute circumstances; and though troops are expensive, yet they are necessary. If you will think proper to spare any, October is the best month for their arrival here. In the interim I shall, with the utmost circumspection, give no just cause of offence to either party, though our being on this island, I believe, is sufficient to the King of Pegu."[1]

But the Madras Council would make no move. It was felt that with the French menace in South India becoming ever more acute, neither troops nor munitions of war ought to be spared for an enterprise, the advantages of which would be, as George Pigot wrote home, "precarious."[2]

His policy therefore was to concentrate upon the struggle in India. For this reason strict neutrality in the Burma civil war was, he decided, a prime essential. Moreover, there was nothing to be derived from

1 Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, 196-7. The letter is dated 13th April 1755.
2 Coast and Bay Abstracts, Vol. 6, 73.

trade with Burma—save expense. Shortly after this decision was reached, a further application from Captain Dugald MacEacharn at Tavoy on behalf of its "King" for warlike stores was refused. MacEacharn was informed that while it was the Council's desire "to maintain a good correspondence" with that ruler, "our occasions here for men and warlike stores are so large, that it is not in our power to send him any." And in the minutes of the consultation, at which this resolution was passed, the fact that the "King" of Tavoy was a likely participant in the Burma civil war was noted, and the significant statement recorded: "It was never our decision to engage in it on either side."[1]

The return journey of the Burmese ambassadors, deputed to negotiate with Henry Brooke at Negrais was not without incident. On their outward journey they had left their escort of twenty war boats at Bassein, and had performed the remainder of the journey in company with George Baker upon a Company's schooner. On returning to Bassein they discovered that during their absence a force of 1800 Talaings in 60 war boats had captured the escort and seized the town. An attempt was made by the victors to persuade Baker to hand over the envoys. Instead, however, he turned his ship about and sailed back to Negrais, where he landed his charges and left them for safety. He then returned once more to Bassein, which he reached on April 10th, to find that it was held by only 500 Talaings, who shortly afterwards, on learning of Alaungpaya's victory over their main army at Danubyu, left hurriedly for Syriam. On May 2nd, a Burmese force re-occupied Bassein. They informed Baker that their king had routed the Talaings and was encamped at Dagon. It was now safe for the Burmese envoys to leave their place of refuge at Negrais; and early in June they passed through Bassein *en route* for Alaungpaya's headquarters bearing with them Henry Brooke's reply to the new conqueror.[2]

So far Alaungpaya's victorious march to the south had proceeded almost without a hitch. Its culmination at the great Buddhist shrine at Dagon, where in great state he made public offerings and prayers, had, as indeed it was meant to have, a decisive moral effect throughout the country. A previous success at Lunhse had led the King to rename the town Myanaung—"speedy victory." At Dagon he made a far greater claim—as yet unrealised—by renaming the place Yangon—"the end of strife." Actually the strife was by no means ended. Pegu, the capital of the Talaing country, and its busy port Syriam, still held out, and their reduction would involve siege operations for which the Burmese army was ill-equipped. Up in the north too there was serious trouble. The Manipuris were raiding. The Shans were rebellious. And a son of

1 MS. Madras Military Consultations, (India Office copy) 1755, 90, s. v. Cons. of June 4th.

2 For the above details, and for the whole story of English negotiations with Alaungpaya, save where otherwise stated, the authority is Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 133-226.

Mahadammayaza Dipati, the last Burmese king of the old dynasty, was threatening invasion from Siamese territory. Before the key position of Syrian could be attacked, therefore, the affairs of the north had to be attended to. Under such circumstances the arrival of strong French reinforcements, earnestly solicited by Bruno, might easily turn the scale once more in favour of the Talaings. Bruno who had been placed by the Uporaza in charge of the defence of Syriam, was no mean antagonist, and the situation bristled with possibilities for the French.

Guns and ammunition constituted Alaungpaya's most pressing need. He had drawn a blank in his first attempt to secure assistance from the Company. Before leaving for the north he decided to make a further effort. So, in the middle of June, when the beginning of the wet monsoon imposed a halt upon operations on a big scale in the delta region, he despatched a second embassy to Henry Brooke, bearing a present of two horses, 100 viss of lac, 100 viss of ivory and a ring. At about the same time he set out for his capital of Shwebo, leaving a strong force at Dagon to mask Syriam. On June 24th the Burmese embassy escorted by 20 war boats and 690 men, arrived at Bassein, and a few days later Captain George Baker once more accompanied Burmese envoys to Negrais.

The situation had altered consliderably since the arrival of the first Burmese mission in March. The Burmese successes at Danubyu and Dagon now rendered the maintenance of strict neutrality practically impossible. Henry Brooke therefore deputed Captain Baker and Lieutenant John North to return with the ambassadors to their master with a present of a twelve-pounder, three nine-pounders, 80 cannon balls, four chests of powder and a quantity of smaller presents including a mirror. They were empowered to conclude "a treaty of friendship and alliance between that Prince and our Honourable Masters."[1]

After a long and tedious journey, in the course of which North died of dysentery at Pagan, the mission reached Shwebo on September 16th, and was given public audience of the King on the following day. After the usual ceremonious questions had been put and answered, the King began to upraid the unsuspecting Baker for the scandalous way in which a number ot English ships had taken part with the French and Talaings in an attack upon the Burmese forces at Dagon, in spite of the strongest assurances of friendship given him by a Company's servant there, before he had left for the capital. He showed plainly that he suspected Henry Brooke of having had a hand in the business. And although Baker in reply expressed in the most emphatic terms his opinion that so far from being complicated in the affair, Henry Brooke would be every bit as angry about it as Alaungpaya himself, it soon become obvious that the King had lost whatever trust he had previously had in the sincerity of the

1 *Ibid.*, I, 143.

Company's attitude towards him. What had occurred at Dagon had made a deep impression upon his mind, so much so that he was determined, when the opportunity should present itself, to exact vengeance to the uttermost. At this point therefore it will be necessary to turn from the Shwebo conversations to examine the occurrence in the neighbourhood of what may henceforth be referred to by its modern name of Rangoon, to see what exactly it was that had so inconveniently introduced a complicating factor into Anglo-Burmese relations.

CHAPTER IV.

THE AFFAIR OF THE ARCOT.

On April 4th, 1755, the snow *Arcot* under the command of Captain Robert Jackson put out from Madras bound for the island of Negrais with official letters and a large consignment of money for Henry Brooke,[1] and a new "assistant" for the station, one John Whitehill, a Company's servant, a young man in his twenty-first year, who had recently joined the Madras establishment as a "writer" on the princely salary of £5 a year, and was destined many years later to retire from the Governorship of Fort St. George with a very unsavoury reputation.[2] In her passage across the Bay the *Arcot*, not a good ship at the best of times, ran into severe monsoon weather, and was unable to make Negrais. And her condition became so leaky that her commander directed his course to Syriam, where he hoped to repair his vessel, and in the meantime convey the bullion and letters through the creeks by native craft to the Negrais factory.

After a passage of nearly two months he arrived on June 1st in the river off Syriam. There to his surprise he learnt that the Company's Resident, the shipwright Henry Stringfellow, had upon Alaungpaya's occupation of Dagon transferred business to that place, whither he had gone in the Company's schooner *Hunter* together with three English private trading vessels. A message from Stringfellow to Jackson advised him likewise to proceed to the new port, where under the patronage of the King of Burma, who had established friendly relations with Henry Brooke, he might obtain all the necessary assistance for the repair of the *Arcot*, and boats to despatch to Negrais.

Accordingly the *Arcot* went on to Rangoon, where she anchored on June 6th, and Captain Jackson deputed Whitehill to the King, bearing a small present of a fowling piece and two bottles of rose water and with

1 Madras Public Proceedings, 1755, 75, 141, 171.

2 In the official records his name in invariably given as Whitehill. But it was clearly pronounced Whittle. William Hickey spells it Whittle (Memoirs, I, 182) and Whittall (*Ibid*, II, 140). In a letter signed by Whitehill, given in full in Dalrymple's Oriental Repertory, I, 195, the name appears as Whithal. Nevertheless Dalrymple, a contemporary of Whitehill's at Madras, always refers to him as Whitehill.

a request for assistance in the repair of the ship and boats for transport to Negrais. All this was readily promised ; but on the next day, when at the King's request all the English at Rangoon, headed by Whitehill and Stringfellow, went to pay their respects at Court. they were detained there the whole day, and during their absence from their ships Burmese troops were sent on board with a peremptory demand for all their guns, small arms and ammunition. On the *Elizabeth*, a private ship from Bengal commanded by Captain Swaine, the demand was complied with. Captain Jackson, however, was on board his own ship ill with dysentery. He flatly refused to hand over anything, and threatened that if the demand were persisted in, he would go over to the Talaings at Syriam. A second attempt to seize the *Arcot's* guns on June 8th was met by an equally firm refusal by Jackson, who on this occasion made a show of preparing to leave the port by force. At this Alaungpaya sent him a reassuring message to the effect that no further attempt to seize the guns of the English ships should be made, and Jackson was promised all the assistance he might require, including boats to send to Negrais.

Jackson and Stringfellow therefore settled down to the business of repairing the *Arcot*. But apparently a further cause of dispute with the King soon developed. According to Jackson's story—unfortunately the only actual narrative of these events that we possess—Alaungpaya sent boats and letters to Henry Brooke at Negrais a few days after the arrival of the *Arcot*. After an absence of a fortnight the royal boats returned with a message from Brooke to Alaungpaya to the effect that the Negrais factory was about to depute Captain George Baker and Lieutenant North as ambassadors to the King. Brooke's letter was shown by the King to Whitehill, who, on reading it, complained that he had not been allowed to communicate with Negrais, when the royal boats had gone thither. This the King stoutly denied, asserting that before the boats set out, the men had been ordered to go on board the *Arcot* and collect letters for Negrais. Such in Jackson's story ; and it is interesting to note that Dalrymple dismisses as groundless the accusation that Alaungpaya prevented the English from sending letters to Negrais on this occasion.[1]

Jackson's narrative is vague and confused, especially in the matter of dates ; and it does not square with the known facts of Brooke's intercourse with Alaungpaya as set forth in the previous chapter. For we have no record of any correspondence between the two between the March embassy and the one which left Rangoon in the middle of June and resulted in the despatch of Baker and North from Negrais on July 17th. And it must be borne in mind that Henry Brooke's reply to the March embassy did not reach Bassein until June 3rd., and therefore could not have arrived in Rangoon until a week or ten days later. Further, almost immediately after the despatch of the June embassy—and long before an answer could have been received at Rangoon—Alaungpaya set out on his

1 *Op. cit.* I, 179.

journey northwards to Shwebo. Jackson's facts therefore must have been badly muddled. Throughout this whole period he was suffering from acute dysentery, and, by his own account, was often lightheaded, and was not expected to recover.

Nevertheless, with all due deference to Dalrymple's judgment, it is more than probable that the root point, upon which the story is based, was correct, namely that the *Arcot's* people were prevented from sending letters to Negrais when Alaungpaya's embassy set out from Rangoon in the middle of June. Burmese kings in their dealings with foreigners had a habit of issuing orders to which their officials were covertly instructed to give an antithetical interpretation. And we may justly infer from Jackson's story, in spite of all its obvious imperfections, that by the time that Alaungpaya left Rangoon for the north Jackson, Whitehill and their fellow English had good cause to regret their abandonment of Syriam in order to seek the patronage of the Company's new potential ally. Thus was the way made easy for an intrigue between the discontented English at Rangoon and the Talaing Uporaza, And as the trusty ally of the Talaings, the Sieur Bruno, was also secretly corresponding with the Burmese King, the situation was not without its humour. In fact, Bruno's messenger to Alaungpaya also carried some of the correspondence that passed between the Uporaza and the English.

At the moment when Alaungpaya's victorious advance had culminated at Dagon, Bruno had gone with three ships ostensibly to congratulate the conqueror ; in reality, of course, to gain some impression of the relative strength of the Burmese forces. While he was on shore, his second-in-command, for some apparently unaccountable reason, sailed off back to Syriam. So thoroughly were Burmese suspicions aroused by this act, that Bruno was only allowed to return to his ship on solemnly undertaking to bring back the truant vessel and on leaving behind as hostage a young French Eurasian named Lavine. He never redeemed his promise, though he continued to correspond with Alaungpaya until the latter's departure for Shwebo. Presumably while on shore he saw enough to convince him that for the time being the Burmese effort was spent. The Burmese indeed had no siege equipment capable of making the slightest impression against the stout defences of Syriam. Meanwhile the hostage Lavine was taken into Alaungpaya's service. We shall meet him later.

Shortly before Alaungpaya's departure up country, a messenger of Bruno's, bearing a letter to the King, managed to smuggle into Jackson's hands one from the Uporaza dated June 16th and addressed to all the English at Rangoon,[1] The letter announced that the writer was about to lead a great attack upon the Burmese position at Rangoon, and the English were asked to refrain from firing upon the Talaing fleet. They

1 Dalrymple gives the full translation of it, I, 192-3.

were reminded that the Court of Pegu had granted the Company trading concessions at Syriam, Negrais and Bassein, and on the strength of these they were invited to return to Syriam, where, the Uporaza assured them, they should be received, as formerly, with sincere friendship.

To such an overture, coming at such a time, the disgruntled English were in the right mood to lend a favourable ear. Moreover, the "usurper", as Jackson refers to Alaungpaya in his journal,[1] was forced to return to Upper Burma by very serious disaffection, which might conceivably rob him of the fruits of his victorious march to Dagon. After his departure the Talaings with their French allies were likely to experience little difficulty in disposing of the small Burmese force that would be left to hold Rangoon. Jackson therefore replied that the English were the Uporaza's friends; they would not molest his forces, and would be glad to seize the first opportunity of escaping from the Burmese. But he sent the message verbally. A letter might have committed him too far, besides which it could be easily intercepted.

Shortly after this Alaungpaya with the main Burmese army set out towards Prome on the first stage of his journey to Shwebo, leaving a garrison of some 15,000 men at Rangoon. As soon as he was clear of the neighbourhood, the projected Talaing attack was launched. It proved an utterly farcical affair. The Talaing flotilla stole up the river by night, directed a futile bombardment against the Burmese position and returned to Syriam without even attempting a landing. The English ships in Rangoon harbour maintained strict neutrality throughout; but when the Talaings retreated to their base, the English made no attempt to join them, although Jackson's message had hinted that they hoped to do so.

Their inaction was equally annoying to both sides. The Talaings had hoped for active support. The Burmese read into it a treacherous understanding with the enemy. A week later Jackson received a second letter from the Uporaza upraiding him for not having replied to the first. The messenger announced another impending Talaing attack upon Rangoon. After some delay the English sent a joint reply signed by Jackson, Whitehill, Stringfellow and two captains of private vessels, Swaine and Savage, and addressed to both the Uporaza and Bruno.[2] They promised that if aided to escape from Rangoon, they would assist the Talaings " to the last drop of their blood ". The letter was conveyed to Syriam by a boat belonging to Swaine.

But the cat was out of the bag. Before the Uporaza's letter had been delivered to the English, Bruno's two lascars, who had brought it, had fallen into the hands of the Burmese, who had sent them on to Alaungpaya at Prome together with a copy of the letter. The English,

1 *Ibid.*, I, 178-9.
2 The full text is given in Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 194-5.

therefore, were summoned on shore, confronted with the facts and required to give a definite assurance of help against the Talaings. Jackson was still—according to his own story—too ill to leave his ship. So Whitehill acted as spokesman. They could do nothing, he said, without consulting Jackson. Also, without orders from the Company they were bound to play the part of neutrals. Only if actually attacked by the Talaings would they join in on the Burmese side. The Burmese allowed them to return to their ships, but a strict watch was kept upon them.

A few days afterwards the expected Talaing attack was made. As the flotilla, headed by two large French ships came up the river, the Burmese made a frantic appeal to Jackson for help. This was disregarded, and when the bombardment began, the English joined in with the French and Talaings. Again, however, the attack was fruitless. The Burmese were driven from their boats; but the Talaings could not be prevailed upon to follow up this initial success by a land attack. Alaungpaya's victories had thoroughly demoralised them. So a farcical bombardment was kept up for seven days, until the Talaing ammunition was exhausted. Little damage was done on either side. When it was over, the English ships sailed away with the rest to Syriam. There they were "very handsomely" received by the Uporaza, and Jackson, at Bruno's suggestion, went under the care of a French doctor.

The Uporaza had now come to realise how serious were the consequences of his rejection of Thomas Saunders's treaty proposals. He had thrown the English into the arms of Alaungpaya. In an interview with Whitehill and his companions he showed them the correspondence he had had with Saunders and Hunter, and lamely tried to explain away the breakdown of the negotiations. It was not his fault, he protested. The Company had sent envoys with inadequate powers for concluding a treaty. If, however, Henry Brooke would either come in person or depute Whitehill, matters could be settled "according to the Company's desire". So letters to this effect were despatched to Negrais in boats furnished by the Uporaza.

But Henry Brooke had had too much experience of the methods of the Court of Pegu to pay serious attention to this new move. He knew the motives which inspired it, and the man with whom he was dealing. To the Uporaza he replied that he would be unable to leave Negrais until Whitehill arrived there. Then either the latter or he himself would come to Syriam to talk matters over. He requested that in the meantime all the Company's vessels then at Syriam should be sent to Negrais. One sentence in his letter must have been written with no little malicious pleasure: he announced that he had sent an embassy with a present of cannon to Alaungpaya. To Jackson he wrote that the *Arcot* was required at Negrais by September 19th; Jackson was to settle an outstanding account for repairs executed upon the schooner *Hunter* and get away from Syriam with all speed.

As the ships were not in a condition to sail at once for Negrais, Whitehill decided to go on ahead of them. His request for boats was willingly granted by the Uporaza, who supplied him with twenty war boats and entrusted to him further letters for Henry Brooke. In these the prince protested his sincere friendship for the English, begged for all the warlike stores that the Negrais factory could spare, and asked that such Talaings as had taken refuge at Negrais, when the Burmese captured Bassein, should be sent to swell his forces at Syriam. Whitehill, who arrived at Negrais on August 26th,[1] found that his chief had no intention whatever of allowing himself to be drawn into any further relations with the Court of Pegu. So the Uporaza's boats were returned to him with no warlike stores, no Talaing refugees and no commissioner for concluding an alliance. Instead, Brooke sent a peremtory demand for the restoration of the guns, which had been seized by the Talaings from the old Syriam factory in 1743, when they had destroyed it.

The Uporaza's annoyance was intense. He called up the English and told them that Brooke wanted the guns in order to make a present of them to the Burmese, "that he might get some more rubies from Dagon Pagoda."[2] Nevertheless he sanctioned the departure of the English ships for Negrais, at the same time entrusting to Jackson a letter remonstrating with Brooke for his conduct. Only the schooner *Hunter* actually sailed—on September 26th. The *Arcot* sprang so bad a leak that she had to be beached for repairs. These entailed a month's delay. But when she was at last ready to put to sea, the Uporaza refused to let her go until he should hear further from Henry Brooke. The English allowed him a few days in which to repent of this outrageous decision. But the prohibition was maintained. So headed by Jackson and Westgarth they waited upon the prince. An angry scene ensued. They would all be detained until the affair had been reported to the Governor of Madras, the prince told them. Jackson in reply threatened to leave without waiting for permission ; Bruno, he said, was bottom of the whole business. At this the Uporaza's anger flared up. The English were his prisoners, he shouted. Had he not redeemed them all from Dagon ? They should not leave until the King of Pegu thought proper. And from this decision no arguments availed to move him. A strong body of soldiers mounted guard over the ships of the English, sentries were placed over their houses and every form of restraint imposed upon them.

But this severity was soon relaxed. A Bengal ship under Captain Douglas was permitted to depart on leaving behind her guns. Incidentally the Uporaza was in debt to her captain to the extent of 26 viss of silver.[3]

1 Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 185, note. Madras Public Proceedings, 1755, 551.
2 Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 186.
3 The Burmese silver tickal (100 to the viss) was then worth about 2 shillings in English money.

Later another Bengal ship, the *London*, under Captain Henry Karr, was allowed to leave, and upon her Jackson was able to smuggle through to Negrais the stores and bullion he had brought from Fort St. George for delivery there. But the embargo on the *Arcot* was maintained, and Jackson was personally treated with great indignity, if we are to believe his own story. When helpless in bed with dysentery, he wrote, he was struck by a Talaing officer, and could obtain no redress. Also, fabulous accounts of Talaing victories, and even of their recapture of the city of Ava, were poured into his ears, so that he was led to believe that the Burmese cause was doomed.

At length, apparently in December 1755, a great combined land and water attack upon Rangoon was planned, and the English were promised that in return for participation they would have liberty to depart. So three English—ships presumably those of Jackson, Westgarth and Swaine—accompanied the Uporaza's and Bruno's flotilla upon a third abortive enterprise. The defences around the Shwe Dagon Pagoda could not be carried, and a raft of burning boats, launched by the Burmese, broke up the attack by water. Then at last was Jackson allowed to leave, on January 5th 1756, but only after he had handed over five of the *Arcot's* guns. His unseaworthy ship, in attempting to make Negrais, was caught in a gale which blew her far out of her course, and she ultimately put into Vizagapatam.[1]

This extraordinary episode had important results upon Anglo-Burmese relations. It made an ineradicable impression upon the mind of Alaungpaya, breeding in him a secret mistrust of the English, which was one of the main causes of the horrible massacre that put an end to the Negrais factory in 1759. It is probable that Jackson's story, although one suspects him of liberally bestowing whitewash upon his own part in the affair, does not contain any serious distortion of the facts. His excuse of having acted under compulsion on the occasion of the third attack upon Rangoon was accepted by the Fort St. George Council, and in such terms was the matter reported home.[2] It is interesting, however, to find Henry Brooke at a later date adopting a much less charitable view of the episode. When in 1760 he was asked by the Fort St. George Council to give his opinion on the causes of the Negrais massacre, he unhesitatingly attributed the catastrophe to the reprehensible conduct of the English at Rangoon in 1755. "I never heard that these gentlemen had any authority either from the Coast or Bengal for such unwarrantable proceenings; they had none from Negrais," he wrote. "It was then, and is still, my opinion that had not this act of open violence been committed by those gentlemen at Dagon, we should have obtained much better terms for the Company than those we have done.....The captains of country vessels in general gave great cause of complaint to the natives by their violent and ungovernable behaviour." [3]

1 Dalrymple, *op. cit*,, I, 199-200. Madras Public Proceedings, 1756, 67.
2 Coast and Bay Abstracts, VI, 97.
3 Madras Public Proceedings, 1760, 199-201.

CHAPTER V.

THE TREATY WITH ALAUNGPAYA.

Captain George Baker's interview with Alaungpaya, which, for reasons narrated in the previous chapter, began so inauspiciously, ended more pleasantly than might have been expected. Indeed, a somewhat piquant note was introduced by the King's vast amusement at the tone of Henry Brooke's letter. He and his whole court broke into a hearty laugh when the following passage was read out and duly translated into Burmese : " As you will by this means obtain an alliance and friendship with so great a power as the Honourable East India Company, who can send you such assistance as will support your Majesty's throne against all future rebellions, domestic feuds and foreign enemies."[1]. In three years, said Alaungpaya, he had extended his conquests a three months' journey in each direction. He was now about to take Pegu. What madman could dream that after such successes he needed help to capture the last town of all? Had he so much as asked for it? He had beaten the Talaings with bludgeons only, so great had been his superiority. He had now but to complete his conquest of the country. And then, he added significantly, would he go " in quest of Bourno".

When the reading of the letter was finished, the King drew his sword. "Captain," he said to Baker, " See this sword. It is now three years it has been constantly exercised in chastising my enemies. It is indeed almost blunt with use; but it shall be continued to the same till they are utterly dispersed. Don't talk of assistance. The Peguers I can wipe away as thus." And he drew the palm of one hand over the other. Then, when Baker begged him not to take the Company's offer in bad part, the King cut him short. " See these arms and this thigh, " he said pulling his sleeves over his shoulders, and tucking up his pasoe to his crutch. "Amongst a thousand you won't see my match. I myself can crush a hundred such as the King of Pegu." And he proudly pointed out in the crowded audience chamber the hostages of the princes who now owned his sway, making them pass before the English ambassador. "To all which," wrote Baker in his journal, "I gave the most suitable, or what I conceived would be the most agreeable, answer; for I thought that was the avenue to his heart." Indeed, the diplomatic captain not only expressed his admiration of all that he was expected to admire, but he concluded his remarks with the pious hope that his Majesty's royal progeny would " to the end of all time perpetuate the memory of their unparalleled predecessor." Distinctly mollified, the King ended the audience by ordering the draft articles of the treaty to be translated into Burmese for consideration on the following day.

Baker soon discovered that a rather difficult cross-current had to be negotiated. As was to be expected, it arose from Armenian intrigues.

1. Dalrymple, *op, cit.*, I, 150.

An Armenian, Gregory, one of the ambassadors of Alaungpaya, who had accompenied Baker from Negrais, was the intermediary in all his dealings with the King and Court, carrying messages and accompanying the Englishman as interpreter at audiences. Baker had early cause to suspect his integrity in the matter of the wording of royal messages. He was also obviously hand in glove with a compatriot of his named Zachary,[1] whom he had induced to desert the Talaing cause. This worthy, presumably in Bruno's pay, was doing his utmost to persuade the King to throw over the English in favour of the French. His intense hatred of the English was, of course, a trait common to most Armenians throughout Asia in the eighteenth century—due probably to the apprehension that their own influence at native courts was endangered more by the English than by any other European nation. By emphasizing the treacherous part played by the English ships in the recent Talaing attacks upon Rangoon, and by impressing upon the King that Bruno's action there was a " mad trick," for which he would be punished on his return to Pondicherry, Zachary almost prevailed upon Alaungpaya to depute him upon an embassy to the president of the French settlements on the Coromandel Coast.

For some time the King toyed with the idea. Baker, however, was aware of what was on foot. So, when the King in going through the English proposals sent a message to Baker asking whether the Company, in return for trading privileges, would be willing, in lieu of the suggested payment of some European curiosities, to supply him with an outright payment of a thousand muskets and twenty pieces of cannon for operations again t Pegu, the Englishman promptly guaranteed that immediately upon his return to Negrais seventy-five muskets and six pieces of cannon should be despatched to him, and a ship sent to the Coromandel Coast to bring over as soon as possible fourteen pieces of cannon and 525 muskets for delivery. He further promised that, if possible, the number of muskets should be made up to the stipulated one thousand. This was all *ultra vires*, but Baker believed that his promises could be implimented. And they served their purpose, for they cooked Zachary's goose. The King threw over his suggestion.

Other difficulties, however, cropped up. The King would not allow the Company to settle at Syriam, he said; he intended utterly to destroy the town. Instead, the English might establish their trade at the new port, Rangoon, that was about to be built at Dagon. At a later interview Alaungpaya said he would permit the Company to open factories at Bassein and Rangoon, and straightway dictated an order to that effect. When Baker drew his attention to the omission of Negrais, he went off into a long tirade against the behaviour of the English ships at Rangoon, and before the Envoy could bring him back to the point, summarily

1. Possibly the son of the Zechary responsible for the Syriam murders in 1720. *Vide* Hall, Early English Intercourse with Burma, 209-210.

ended the audiences, telling Baker to return on the following day. But there were no further audiences. Alaungpaya's "favourite concubine" was suddenly taken ill and died, and the King's great grief at this calamity furnished him with a handy excuse for sending Baker back to Negrais with his mission unaccomplished. Instead of a treaty, the Envoy was entrusted with a royal order granting the Company permission to settle on a spot 2800 yards square on the river bank opposite to the town of Bassein and conferring a number of vague trading privileges.[1] And the King sent Baker a message asking him to meet him again at Rangoon. Baker left Shwebo on September 28th after a stay of less than a fortnight. On October 30th he was back in Negrais.

By January 1756, Alaungpaya had settled the affairs of the north sufficiently to admit of his return to Rangoon. There he arrived with considerable reinforcements at the end of February, and immediately siege operations were set on foot against Syriam.[2] Robert Westgarth and a few English private traders still remained in the beleaguered town, probably in the belief that its stout defences would be adequate against an enemy possessing no siege artillery. The Uporaza himself proceeded to Pegu leaving the defence of Syriam in the hands of his chief Wungyi assisted by Bruno. Early in the siege the Frenchman suffered a serious loss; a ship of his grounded and was disabled by Burmese gunfire. His only other available one had been sent to Pondicherry for assistance.

At first Alaungpaya contented himself with blockading tactics, gradually tightening the meshes of his net around the doomed city. In July, however, after elaborate preparations, he launched a surprize night attack, which was completely successful. The garrison fled almost without striking a blow. The greater part of it escaped, but all the Europeans in the town fell into Alaungpaya's hands. Most of the English were—rather significantly—released. Westgarth, however, seriously wounded in the struggle, was forbidden by the King to receive medical attention, and died of his wounds.[3] Upon the French and their confederates the full weight of the King's vengeance descended. Bruno was roasted alive.[4] Father Nerini, the head of the Catholic Mission to Burma, was beheaded. The rank and file escaped immediate death for a worse fate—forcible service with the Burmese armies.

There was a tragic irony about Bruno's fate. During the siege he had attempted to negotiate with Alaungpaya; but the Talaings had discovered the intrigue and put him under restraint. Two days after the fall of Syriam, while Bruno was still alive, two French vessels, the *Galatée* and the *Fleury*, laden with military stores and troops, sent from

1. Madras Public Proceedings, 1760, 209.
2. Useful accounts of this episode are to be found in Cordier's Historique Abrégé, 8, and Symes's Embassy to Ava, 29-32.
3. Madras Public Proceedings, 1760, 200.
4. *Ibid., loc. cit.*

Pondicherry for the assistance of the Talaings, put into the Rangoon river and sent up a boat for pilot. Their boat fell into the hands of the Burmese, who sent down the required pilot in a country boat bearing a letter, which the King forced Bruno to write, decoying the ships up the river. The trick was successful. On the way up the pilot purposely ran the French ships aground, so that they fell an easy prey to the Burmese war boats. Their cargoes of artillery, muskets and every kind of military requisite, were extremely welcome to Alaungpaya, and he spared the lives of some 200 of their crews in order to impress them into his armies.[1] The officers, however, were beheaded.

A companion ship of the two captured ones, which had parted company with them during the voyage, was delayed six weeks by bad weather. On entering the Rangoon river she was fortunate enough to be warned of what had taken place, and so made good her escape to Pondicherry. Luckily for Alaungpaya the French could make no reprisals: Dupleix had gone back to France, and the Seven Years' War had begun. He, of course, was sublimely ignorant of the fact that in massacring Europeans he was sowing the wind from which his successors were one day to reap the whirlwind His object was to teach foreigners that they should give no help to rebel Talaings. In this his logic was at fault, since his own self-constituted authority was of more recent origin than that of the Court of Pegu. And Bruno was no worse than the men he was dealing with. His misfortune lay in failing to "spot the winner."

Captured Syriam, stripped of everything of value, was utterly destroyed as a city. In its stead as chief port of lower Burma, Alaungpaya's new creation, Rangoon, close to the renowned Buddhist shrine of Dagon, was sedulously developed. And it must not be thought that motives of either revenge or sentiment were the main cause of this. It had long been realised that Syriam harbour was becoming dangerous to ships of larger burthen on account of silting. Alaungpaya was bent upon establishing a port worthy of the new kingdom he had carved out with his sword. His choice of Rangoon for this purpose shows that he possessed the true instincts of the nation builder.

Captain George Baker was unable to fulfil his engagement to meet Alaungpaya again at Rangoon. The heavy death roll at Negrais led to his appointment to command the Company's sloop *Cuddalore*[2]. In that capacity he arrived at Madras early in February 1756, bringing with him John Whitehill, whose health had broken down at Negrais, and letters from Henry Brooke asking to be permitted to return for the same reason[3]. His request was granted, and on March 15th the *Cuddalore* returned.

1. On this point Harvey, History of Burma, 231-233 is illuminating.
2. Her captain, Nathaniel Hammond, had died there.
3. Madras Public Proceedings, 1756, 60, 63-4.

to Negrais with a new Chief, Captain John Howes [1] and a cargo of rice, salt and building materials. She was instructed to return immediately with Henry Brooke and a cargo of timber. [2]

In Baker's stead as ambassadors to the King of Burma Henry Brooke early in the year 1756 deputed Ensign John Dyer and Doctor William Anderson to proceed to Rangoon and secure, if possible, a ratification of the proposed treaty. On April 12th, while they were still absent, Captain Howes arrived at Negrais to take over charge of the settlement from Brooke. He found a sick and dispirited man, who, beyond sending this mission, had done nothing to follow up Baker's previous one. In particular the piece of land near Bassein, that Alaungpaya had granted to the Company had not yet been occupied. It was not the site chosen by the English, Brooke explained to Howes. He had asked for a piece of rising ground, easily defensible, called Pagoda Point, at Old Bassein. This the King had refused on the ground that a very ancient pagoda crowned the eminence, which was hence regarded as sacred. He could not afford, he said, to alienate the priesthood, when he was as yet not very firmly established on the throne. [3] Howes was all for insisting upon a grant of Pagoda Hill; but Brooke was equally insistent that to do so would be useless.

Soon after Brooke's departure for Madras, the two envoys returned from the Burmese camp. They had not succeeded in persuading the King to ratify the treaty; but they brought with them a letter from Alaungpaya to the King of Great Britain inscribed on gold leaf, and another for delivery to the Company, couched in almost identical terms, but written on gilt-bordered paper. These documents were the nearest approach to a treaty that a King of Burma could permit himself to condescend to. And it is interesting to note that many years later Colonel Burney, when Resident at Ava, discovered copies of them among a collection of Alaungpaya's "orders," [4] They were dated April 1756, and were forwarded to London along with Fort St. George's general letter of June 6th, 1757. [5] They were received by the Board of Directors early in the following year, and the gold-leaf letter appears to have been presented to George II through "Mr. Secretary Pitt." [6]

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1. He was a soldier, and the Fort St. George Council received a sharp rap over the knuckles from the Board of Directors for appointing him instead of a civil servant. (Despatches to Madras, 1753-9, I, 934.) Actually the only available civilian, Andrew Newton, Chief at Devecotah, had refused to go on the plea of ill-health.

2. Madras Public Proceedings, 1756, 66, 121.

3. Madras Public Proceedings, 1760, 200-201.

4. *Vide* Burney's edition of Bayfield's Historical Review of the Political Relations between the British Government in India and the Empire of Ava, (Calcutta, 1835)

5. Coast and Bay Abstracts, Vol. 6, 65. Whether Howes or his successor, Newton forwarded them to Madras I have been unable to discover. Probably the latter; otherwise the delay in despatching them home is inexplicable.

6. *Vide* Appendix I.

A peculiar interest attaches to it as the earliest direct communication between a King of Burma and a King of England. The translation of it preserved at the India Office [1] runs thus:

"The King, Despotick, of great Merit, of great Power, Lord of the Countries Thonahprondah, Tomp Devah and Camboja, Sovereign of the Kingdom of Burmars, the Kingdom of Siam and Hughen and the Kingdom of Cassay, Lord of the Mines of Rubies, Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron and Amber, Lord of the White Elephant, Red Elephant and Spotted Elephant, Lord of the Vital Golden Lance, of many Golden Palaces and of all these Kingdoms, Grandours and Wealth whose royal person is descended of the Nation of the Sun, Salutes the King of England, of Madras, of Bengal, of Fort St. David and of Deve Cotah, And let our Compliments be presented to His Majesty and acquaint him that from the time of Our Ancestors to Our time, there has been a great Commerce and Trade carry'd on by the English and Burmars, with all possible Liberties, Affection, Advantage and Success, till the time of the Revolution in Pegue, when an entire Stop was put to them and to Our Correspondence, tho' Our inclination and desire of Corresponding with His Majesty and his Subjects remain'd always lively and Constant with Us.

"At the time of the Revolution in Pegue, his Majesty our friend, was pleased to send Mr Brooke to settle at Negrais the one End of our Kingdom, of which we were apprised after his arrival there, and tho' Jealousy naturally Reigns in Kings, yet We were greatly pleased and Rejoiced at the News, and to give proof of our sincere Amity with His Majesty and his Subjects, We have, on Mr. Brooke's applying to Us in his Majesty's Esteemed Name, given and granted the Place he Wanted at Passaim, and have caused a Deed with Our Seal affixed to it, to be sent to Mr. Brooke, and have Commanded Our Governor at Passaim personally to attend to Measure and deliver up the said desir'd Place, which has accordingly been Done.

"If one King be in Union and Amity with another they may be of Utility to the Interest of each other.

"We and our Generation are inclin'd to preserve a Constant Union and Amity with his Majesty and his Royal Family and Subjects.

"Given the 10th of the Moon of the Month of Cawchong year 1118 Burman Stile (being April 1756 English Stile). Let this Letter be engraved upon a Golden Plate, and forwarded to the King of England."

Unfortunately neither the British Government nor the Directors had any idea of the signal act of condescension to which the descendant of

1. Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 95, 27-8. Part of the first paragraph containing the King of Burma's titles is quoted by Dalrymple (I, 106-7), who was a "writer" at Fort St. George when the letter arrived there in 1757.

the Nation of the Sun had committed himself in thus addressing the earth-born ruler of a foreign land. On July 5th, 1758, the Directors replied to Madras: "We have presented the King of the Burmur's Letter to his Majesty. If his Majesty should think fit to make a Reply, it shall be transmitted to you to be delivered together with a Letter from the Company in answer to That from the King of the Burmurs. In the meantime, if you think it necessary, you may make an Apology for our not transmitting them"[1] Neither answer nor apology were ever sent. and the King of Burma nursed his wounded pride until the occasion came for taking a fearful revenge.

The explanation of the English apathy is not far to seek. Long before the Directors received Alaungpaya's letters they had sent out orders for the abandonment of trading operations in Burma, leaving it to the Madras Council's discretion whether actually to destroy the Negrais factory buildings and evacuate the place. England was in the throes of her great struggle with France. The tide had not yet turned in her favour. She was too much absorbed with other matters to be bothered with matters of Burmese policy. Especially so since the elimination of French influence through the fall of Syriam. For the time being Burma was of trifling importance to the Company. And Madras was too busily engaged in its terrific duel with Pondicherry to make the "apology" suggested in the Directors' letter.

We must now turn back to affairs in Burma from the time of the return of Dyer and Anderson to Negrais. The passage in the royal letters relating to the grant of land at Bassein is vaguely worded. It would appear to warrant the belief that the King had been prevailed upon —in spite of his previous refusal—to permit the Company to establish its factory on Pagoda Hill. Such, indeed, was the interpretation given to it by Captain John Howes, who in July 1756 went personally to Bassein where on the disputed eminence he began to build a fortified station officially dubbed Fort Augustus. And for this undertaking he had apparently received the permission of the Governor of Bassein[2]. The English flag was formally hoisted over the new fort on August 5th in the presence of the Governor and other local dignitaries. Howes then returned to Negrais, leaving his second-in-command, Lieutenant Thomas Newton, in charge of building operations, which were pressed forward with all speed.

Burmese religious sentiment, however, had been outraged. And when, soon after the opening of Fort Augustus, the Governor of Bassein left for Rangoon, the opposition grew intense. Adequate supplies of fresh food could not be obtained for the garrison, and inevitable sickness broke out. Howes therefore instructed Newton to quit the place, leaving

1. Despatches to Madras, I, 934.
2. Madras Public Proceedings, 1756, 599-600.

only a corporal and two or three men to mount guard over the buildings. On September 9th, before this order had been carried out, came news of the death of Howes at Negrais. Pending the appointment of a successor Newton was now the officiating Chief of the Negrais Settlement. His first exercise of his new authority was to carry out of the complete evacuation and abandonment of Fort Augustus, withdrawing its garrison, guns and stores to the parent settlement.

The foregoing account of the abortive attempt to plant a fortified trading post on Pagoda Hill at Bassein is taken from the official report submitted by Newton to the Madras Council after the death of Captain Howes. We possess also a brief reference to the affair from the pen of Henry Brooke some four years later. In this document, after mentioning that before his departure from Negrais he had warned Howes not to attempt a settlement on the spot in defiance of Alaungpaya's wishes, he wrote: "And after my arrival on the Coast I heard that Captain Howes had applied for it and was denied; that he afterwards possessed himself of it by force, and having erected some works was compelled to abandon them by the King, who expressed great displeasure thereupon."[1] Which is the true account? The available records give us no clue. No reference was made to the incident when in the following year Ensign Lester was negotiating with Alaungpaya. The King and his advisers were insistent that the Company should "settle" at Bassein "on the bank of the Persaim River, opposite to the Pagoda Hill, and the old Town of Persaim."[2] But " Fort Augustus " was not so much as mentioned.

During the rainy season of 1756 Burmese operations against the Talaings were suspended. Only the city of Pegu itself remained unsubdued. Here, behind countless stockades and with no lack of artillery—of a sort, was concentrated the remnant of the Talaing forces together with the King and his Court. In October, with the arrival of the dry season, the Burmese forces began to close round the city, systematically devastating the countryside and deporting the population. Once more urgent need of warlike stores led Alaungpaya to send a mission to Negrais. Thomas Newton managed to spare twelve chests of gunpowder from his inadequately stocked magazine, and the Burmese paid cash down.[3]

As the siege proceeded, however, the Burmese demands for this most desirable commodity became insatiable, and the inability of the English to satisfy them annoyed the King so much that he was reported to have " let drop some expressions intimating that when he had reduced Pegu, he would dislodge the English from Negrais." [4] Thomas Newton became alarmed. War conditions in India beween the English and

1. *Ibid.*, 1760, 201
2. Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 223.
3. Madras Public Proceedings, 1757, 21.
4. *Ibid.*, 1757, 380.

French had resulted in the almost entire neglect of the unpopular settlement. Not only was his stock of powder too low for him to cater for the needs of the Burmese, but, in his own words, it was fit for nothing but salutes.[1] At the end of March 1757 he warned the Madras Council that he would not answer for the consequences of a further refusal of the Burmese demands.[2] So desperate indeed did he consider the plight of the settlement, that he went to the length of detaining as a guardship a Bengal private vessel, the *Fort William*, which mounted sixteen guns and carried a well-armed crew of nearly sixty hands.

The situation, however did not develop so badly as Thomas Newton had anticipated. In May the Burmese carried Pegu by storm.[3] Its capture was the signal for an appalling holocaust, in which almost all that was distinctive of the ancient city, save its religious shrines, perished. Soon afterwards, with the conquered King, royal family and Court of Pegu in his train, Alaungpaya began slowly to make his triumphant return to the capital. Before starting he despatched a letter to Thomas Newton informing him of what had taken place, and requesting him to join him on the way up stream to Prome. The letter intimated that the King had "some matters of consequence" to communicate to Newton,[4].

Newton decided that the opportunity was ripe for reopening the treaty question. But he thought it imprudent personally to leave his post. He therefore deputed Ensign Robert Lester [5] as "ambassador extraordinary" to the King and sent along with him the best present the settlement could afford. Its chief item was a four-pounder and gun-carriage "compleat".[6] It was arranged that the mission was to be sent upon the Company's schooner *Mary* to Bassein. There it was to be met by Antonio, an interpreter of Portuguese extraction, who possessed some degree of influence at the Burmese Court. He was to provide transport from Bassein to the royal presence.

Lester on board the *Mary* left Negrais on June 26th, 1757, and arrived at Bassein late in the evening of the following day. Not until July 3rd did Antonio put in an appearance, and he then informed the already

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1. *Ibid.*, 1757, 381.
2. *Ibid., loc. cit.*
3. Picturesque accounts of the siege are given by several writers, notably Harvey, *op. cit.*, 232—236, and Symes, *op. cit.*, 33—39, the former being largely based upon the official Burmese version given in the Konbaungset Yazawin, the official Burmese chronicle of this period.
4. Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 201.
5. Symes gives his name as Lyster. As his account of the mission is based upon Dalrymple's, who was at Madras at the time, and spells the name Lester, the reason for the discrepancy does not appear. But there are many inaccuracies in Symes's first chapter, which suggest carelessness, and the use of his imagination to embellish the information he derived from his sources.
6. For the full list see Dalrymple, I, 203.

impatient envoy that the boats for transport to the royal flotilla would not be ready for another six days. In the meantime he appeared to be mainly employed in extorting money from the Talaings of the district, often by means of torture. Ostensibly the proceeds of his exactions were for the royal exchequer, and he was so busy, he told Lester, that he had no time even to have a translation of Newton's official letter to the King prepared.

On July 13th the mission left Bassein. It was the height of the rainy season. The boats were very inadequately protected against the weather, and Lester suffered great personal discomfort. His protest merely provoked an unpleasant display of insolence from Antonio and an English renegade, who was acting as the latter's assistant, one William Pladwell. "I meet with many things amongst these people, that would try the most patient man ever existed," he wrote in his journal, "but as I hope it is for the good of the gentlemen I serve, I shall put up with them and proceed."[1]

On July 22nd they fell in with the royal flotilla, and on the following day, minus his sword and shoes, much to his disgust as a British officer, Lester was presented to the King on board the royal barge. A lengthy conversation took place, in the middle of which, to the immense amusement of the King, the envoy found the effort to remain in the *shihko* position for a prolongued period so uncomfortable, that he tried surreptitiously to draw up a low stool to ease his cramped limbs. Whereat with gracious condescension the King allowed him to sit upon a spar of the barge.

Throughout the interview Alaungpaya plied Lester with questions. Why was a treaty required? Was not the gold plate, which he had given to Ensign Dyer for transmission to the King of England, enough? And why did the English not leave Negrais and settle at Bassein? To the last question Lester replied that Negrais was the key to the river. The English remained there in order to prevent the French from seizing the island. If a treaty were concluded, they would make Bassein their headquarters, leaving only a small garrison to hold Negrais. A treaty, he strove to explain, was of more importance than a letter: "it would be a means of uniting the two nations together for ages to come." Alaungpaya, apparently impressed by this reasoning, dismissed the envoy promising that his royal seal should be affixed to the treaty at a place a little higher up stream, where he intended staying on shore for a few days.

During the conversation the King interspersed his questions on the matters at issue with others of a more personal nature. He asked if the envoy could point a gun and kill a man at a great distance, whether he understood the use of cannon, whether there was as much rain in England

1. Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 207.

as in Burma, why he wore a shoulder knot, how much was his monthly salary, and why Englishmen did not tattoo their bodies and thighs like Burmans ; and his Majesty stood up and exposed his own tattooed thigh to the amused envoy. He then felt Lester's hand and said the English were like women because they did not tattoo. When in reply to another question Lester told him that he had personally seen the Thames frozen over and an ox roasted whole upon it, the King and all present laughed heartily. Were the English afraid of the French? the King enquired with a gleam of mischief; to which it is not very difficult to picture Lester replying that "there never was that Englishman born, that was afraid of a Frenchman." The King also was moved to indulge in a little bombast. If all the powers of the world were to come, he said, he could drive them out of his country. Thus everything passed off most amicably, and Lester retired from the barge, having been careful to make the necessary presents to the various ministers, "hoping it may be a means of getting my business done, on the Company's account, the sooner."

Alaungpaya's promise to perform so unparalleled an act of condescension as to affix his seal to a treaty with the "Tsinapatan thimbaw zeit sa" provided his servants with an equally unparalleled opportunity for graft. Three days before the royal interview Antonio had approached Lester with the suggestion that if the King were prevailed upon to conclude a treaty a "good present" should be forthcoming for himself and the Governor of Bassein. Captain Howes and former Chiefs of Negrais had made similar promises, he averred. It was useless to prevaricate or refuse; so, with much misgiving, Lester gave his word that if the treaty materialised, the two officials should have a "genteel present".

On July 26th, at noon, as Lester was proceeding up the river in the royal train awaiting intimation of the ratification of the treaty, Antonio suddenly appeared with the information that the King wished to see him. With all possible haste Lester put on his dress uniform and hurried off to the appointed rendezvous. On arrival he learnt that the King had already departed and that he was too late for an interview. It soon turned out that his late arrival had been purposely stagemanaged by Antonio, who took the opportunity of letting him know that a present of 30 viss of silver for the Governor of Bassein and one of 20 viss for himself were the price of ratification. The unhappy envoy, well aware that Antonio held all the trumps, resorted to haggling. His first offer of 20 viss, later increased to 25, to be divided between the two officials, was rejected, and he was left to think things over. On the following day, after a long discussion with the two interested parties, Lester came to terms with them and he dejectedly chronicled in his journal: "As I am positive nothing can be done, but through these men, neither can I get audience to the King but through Antonio, who is my interpreter, I have taken upon me to offer them Thirty Viss, which they accepted, and promised that they

would get the King's Chop affixed to our treaty, and be firmly allied to our interest."

Accordingly on July 29th, when, after some suspicious delays on the river, the envoy arrived at Myanaung, Antonio met him with the news that the treaty had been ratified, and that the King, who had arrived much earlier, and was about to leave the place, would grant him a farewell interview. So, hurrying off to the royal barge, Lester had a few minutes conversation with the King before receiving his formal dismissal. Again the King was insistent upon the Company settling at Bassein. Apparently it was this point that was uppermost in his mind in sanctioning the treaty. As to that document, he said, the final details would be settled by Antonio, but the royal seal was already affixed. As on the previous occasion he was moved to indulge in a little bombast: if a nine-pound shot fired from a gun were to hit his body, he told Lester, it could not enter it. But he also struck a minatory note. He had heard, he said, that the Negrais settlement had supplied food to Talaing refugees, thus rendering more difficult his task of reducing the country. Lester must inform his chief that in future nothing of this sort must be done. As the envoy took his leave, he was on the King's behalf solemnly presented with 18 oranges, 24 heads of Indian corn and 5 cucumbers.

Lester's return journey had to be undertaken in an even smaller and more inconvenient boat than that in which he had made the outward journey. "I agreed, as I could not help myself;" he wrote in his journal, "but I advise any gentlemen that should come on these occasions, before they leave Negrais to get a good conveyance, for of all mankind, which I have seen, the Buraghmah promises the most and performs the the least."[1] Torrential rains laid out Antonio, Lester and nearly all their following with severe attacks of fever. Not until August 6th, could they attend to the business of settling the final details of the treaty. Then—but not until Lester had placed in Antonio's hands a written guarantee that the stipulated 30 viss of silver would be paid by the Chief of Negrais—duly ratified copies were exchanged.

Thus after countless labours and weary journeyings the agents of the East India Company had at last obtained what purported to be a treaty with the King of Burma. It was indeed a document drawn up in the form of a treaty and bearing Alaungpaya's royal seal. *Mutatis mutandis* its form and contents were almost exactly those of the draft treaty that Thomas Saunders had offered to the Court of Pegu in 1754. But it was a worthless instrument. And the haphazard manner of its ratification was undoubtedly designed by Alaungpaya to show his utter contempt of treaties. Burmese kings would do nothing that could in any way be considered compromising to their sovereign powers. A treaty

1 Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 218.

bound them by conditions that they could not revoke at pleasure. In any case, even if Alaungpaya were willing to respect the terms of the treaty during his own lifetime, it was by Burmese custom bound to lapse at his death. Then, if the Company wished the terms to stand, the humiliating—and expensive—supplication of the Golden Feet would have to be begun afresh and renewed *ad nausiam*. It is therefore interesting to note that while Dalrymple prints a copy of this document, it is pointedly omitted from Aitchison's monumental collection.[1] There is also the further point that we stressed in connexion with the treatment of Alaungpaya's goldleaf letter by the Directors and the Madras Council. The conditions, which had produced the original impulse for such a treaty, had passed away. Dupleix was no longer in the East. Bruno was dead. Burma was united. And both English and French were too much occupied elsewhere to devote any attention to Burmese policy. At the moment when Ensign Lester was so assiduously pursuing this phantom treaty, the Company's sole concern in Burma was with the question of withdrawal.

Clause two of the treaty apportioned to the East India Company "a spot, or tract, of ground situate on the Bank of Persaim River, opposite to the Pagoda Hill, and the Old Town of Persaim, of the following extent, viz. two hundred bamboos square, each bamboo containing 7 cubits." On August 22nd, 1757, while waiting at Bassein for conveyance to Negrais, Ensign Lester measured out the ground granted by this clause, and to the accompaniment of three volleys of small arms took formal possession of it in the Company's name. Four days later he reached Negrais and handed over his various diplomatic documents to Lieutenant Thomas Newton.[2]

CHAPTER VI.

THE MASSACRE.

When in January 1755 George Pigot took over the governorship of Fort St George from Thomas Saunders, two things were obvious regarding the Company's position in Burma: firstly that the Court of Pegu would never sign a treaty, and secondly that the Negrais station would never be of any use commercially, save indirectly as subsidiary to a main station at Bassein. Pigot, who had not the same cause for interest in the settlement as his prodecessor, did not mince matters in reporting home the situation as he saw it.[3] As a result the Directors' faith in the enterprise was rudely shaken. "From the accounts in your advices

1. Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, 1, 223-6. See also Aitchison's comment on the subject in Treaties, Sanads and Engagements," I, 325.
2. Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 222.
3. Dodwell, Calendar of Madras Despatches, 1744-1755, 257. Coast and Bay Abstracts, Vol. 6, 48.

before us of the settlement upon the Negrais and your transactions with the Government of Pegu," they wrote on December 19th, 1755, " wee have less encouragement than ever to think it will be proper for the Company to be at any further expence upon it " Pigot therefore was requested to send as explicit an account of the relative advantages and disadvantages of continuing the settlement as would enable the Court to come to some decision on the subject.

But before a reply could be received to this request, Pigot's letters of October 27th, 1755 [1] and March 2nd, 1756 [2] furnished the Directors with all the information they wanted. " You have given us by the *Hardwick* and *Eastcourt* a very clear state of the settlement at the Negrais," they wrote to Pigot in their despatch of March 25th, 1757,[3] " and it is so far satisfactory as to convince us that even supposing that settlement is not entirely to be withdrawn, it will not be for the interest of the Company to be at any further expense upon it, than merely to prevent giving the French a pretext for taking possession by our totally deserting it. These being our sentiments, we shall leave it to you to determine upon withdrawing entirely, or barely to keep possession at the least possible expense. If you judge the first to be, considering all circumstances, the best measure, you are to cause all the buildings, erections and works to be demolished and destroyed, and all the people to be brought away. But if very good reasons appear to induce you to think it really for the interest of the Company to keep the bare possession of it, the people to be employed for this service must never exceed twenty or thirty in the whole, in which there are, to save expences, to be as few Europeans as possible; and for the same reason there is to be no more money laid out in buildings and works of any kind, than will merely serve for the habitation and the necessary defence of the said people. As the utmost frugality is to be observed, Captain Howes must be recalled, and the person you shall think fit to appoint to preside over and command these people must be one of an inferior rank, and consequently at a moderate allowance. You must take care to supply them at proper times with the necessaries of life; but none of our European ships or any of our own vessels are to be detained or continue there any longer than absolutely necessary for this service, the expences and disappointments already incurred on this occasion having been excessive and great."

A year later the receipt of Alaungpaya's gold-leaf letter in no way shook the Directors' resolution. Indeed, fearful lest the more favourable turn of events in Burma might lead the Madras Council to disregard their previous instructions, they wrote (in their despatch of July 5th, 1758): " We gave you our sentiments and directions with respect to the

1. Coast and Bay Abstracts, Vol 6, 72-3.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, 97.
3. Despatches to Madras, I(1753-1759), 697-8.

Negrais very fully in our letter of the 25th, March 1757, and not seeing any reason for being of a different opinion, they are to be complied with. We have been at so large an expense on account of the settlement at that place, and the unsettled condition of the Pegu country promises so very little advantage, especially in the present situation of the Company's affairs, that we cannot think of making any new settlements. Schemes of this kind must be deferred for more tranquil times. You are therefore not to be induced by flattering prospects to run us into expences, by making any new settlements." [1] A few months later, when news of the conclusion of the treaty with Alaungpaya reached them, the Directors reiterated their decision. Everything was to be withdrawn from both Negrais and Bassein, they ordered. If absolutely necessary, "three or four black people" might be retained at each place "to hoist a flag, merely to keep up our right." [2]

The paragraph relating to Negrais in the Directors' letter of March 25th, 1757, came up for consideration by the Madras Council on April 25th, of the following year. [3] Two months earlier, when Lieutenant Thomas Newton's report of the completion of the treaty with Alaungpaya, and of the formal occupation of the new site at Bassein, had been received, the Council, preoccupied with other more important matters, had passed a minute deferring indefinitely consideration of any further steps to be taken in Burma. [4] When therefore it became apparent that the Directors themselves had lost all enthusiasm for a settlement in the country, the Council was only too willing to obey its instructions; and the resolution was recorded that "in the present circumstances of affairs the most adviseable measure will be barely to keep possession in the manner the Company direct." [5]

But no measures were taken by the Madras Council towards carrying this resolution into effect. In fact, Fort St. George took no further notice of the settlements in Burma until news came, in 1760, of the destruction of Negrais at the hands of the Burmese. [6] So when in April 1759, in accordance with the Directors' instructions, Thomas Newton and the main Negrais garrison, consisting of 35 European and 70 native troops, were withdrawn, the operation was directed and carried out by the Calcutta Council. [7]

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1. *Ibid*, I, 934.
2. *Ibid.*, I, 1017-18, Despatch of Jan. 23rd, 1759.
3. Madras Public Proceedings, 1758, 105.
4. *Ibid.*, 1758, 54-5.
5. *Ibid.*, 1758, 105.
6. Between the consultations of April 25th, 1758 and April 1st. 1760 the Madras Consultation Books contain no important references to Negrais. Receipt of Newton's, letters until his departure in April 1759, is recorded either without comment or with the remark, "the consideration whereof is deferr'd to another opportunity."
7. Coast and Bay Abstracts, Vol 6, 307. Newton arrived in Calcutta on May 14th, and proceeded on to Madras shortly afterwards.

The cause of this is not far to seek. The great position in Bengal won for the Company by Clive's brilliant victory at Plassey had raised the power and prestige of Calcutta to an unprecedented level. Under Clive's first governorship (June 1758-February 1760) its pre-eminence in what we may call British India was placed upon unassailable foundations. From this time onwards Calcutta supplanted Madras as the directing centre of English relations with Burma. And in this connection it must be borne in mind that the Seven Years' War, which had opened in 1756, was being fought out mainly in the Carnatic, so far as India was concerned. There it resolved itself into a gigantic duel between Madras and Pondicherry.

During the early part of the struggle the brilliant Lally so successfully revived French power that by 1758 it had grown as strong as in the halcyon days of Dupleix. At the end of that year, when Lally laid siege to Madras, one of the critical moments of British power in India arrived. Had he succeeded, the favourable situation in Bengal would have been seriously threatened. But in February 1759 an English naval squadron raised the siege and Clive from Bengal created a diversion by sending an expedition to the Northern Circars which inflicted a crushing defeat upon a French army at Kondur, and ultimately captured Masulipatam. After this the fortunes of war turned decisively against the French. The British victory at Wandewash and the capture of Pondicherry sealed their doom, but not before they had unsuccessfully attempted to enlist against the British a rising new leader in the south, Hyder Ali.

Small wonder therefore that Madras during these critical years could do nothing for the Company's stations in Burma. And it is important to recollect that the events of those critical years 1758-60 were but the culmination of the unofficial contest for supremacy in the Carnatic that had engrossed the attention of the Madras Council unceasingly from the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession. Fort St. George never had its hands free to attempt seriously in Burma the role which it had so lightly assumed in planting a settlement on the island of Negrais. Thus, when a policy of withdrawal was forced upon the Company, Madras was unable even to rescue its own chestnuts from the fire. Calcutta had to take up that ungrateful task, and burnt its fingers in the process.

Before we come to deal with the last tragic scene at Negrais, two episodes, which throw some light upon it, must be briefly narrated. When Thomas Newton and the main garrison of Negrais evacuated the place in April 1759, the Company's teak timbers and other shipbuilding materials collected there had been left under the charge of Lieutenant Hope and a small guard, pending such time as the Calcutta Council could conveniently arrange for their removal. During the cold weather of 1758-9 Alaungpaya was busy leading a great raid into Manipur with the ostensible object of setting his own candidate upon its

throne. His absence was the signal for a desperate attempt on the part of the Talaings to reunite on a big scale and regain their independence. The suddenness of their uprising took the government by surprise. There were massacres of Burmese in several districts of Lower Burma. The Burmese viceroy of Pegu was defeated and driven to Henzada. Alaungpaya therefore was forced to abandon his northern expedition in order to hasten down the Irrawaddy to the disaffected area. Before he arrived, however, the rebellion had been crushed by the viceroy, who, aided by reinforcements from the north, captured Rangoon, the main centre of the revolt, and with characteristic ruthlessness stamped out all resistance.

In June 1759, while Alaungpaya was on his southward journey, an English vessel, the *Lively*, commanded by Richard Dawson, and with John Whitehill as her supercargo, arrived at Rangoon on a private trading venture. [1] Our last glimpse of Whitehill was when he returned sick to Madras from Negrais early in 1756. A year later he had resigned the Company's service, presumably in order to develop certain private trading schemes of his own. [2] In 1758, however, he had "repented so unadvised a step," and petitioned for reinstatement. [3] His petition had had to be referred home for sanction. While awaiting this, he had been stationed at Sadras "to get intelligence." [4] But before the Directors' orders restoring him to the service arrived at Madras, he had—most unwisely, as it turned out—fitted out this trading expedition to Rangoon, hoping, by a method much used by traders to Burma in those days, to make a safe profit. [5] This method consisted in loading up with a cargo of cocoanuts at the Nicobars and disposing of them in Rangoon.

Everything went without a hitch until Whitehill, apparently ignorant of the resentment cherished against him by Alaungpaya ever since the affair of the *Arcot* in 1755, ventured late in July to visit the King at Prome. On arrival there he was immediately seized by royal order, beaten and put in irons. At the same time all his goods were confiscated. A few days later his ship, the *Lively* and another English vessel, the *Princess Carolina*, were seized by the Rangoon authorities, their cargoes confiscated and their crews made prisoners. [6] Captain Dawson of the *Lively* and his chief officer, Sprake, were sent up in irons to Prome,

1. Madras Public Proceedings, 1760, 180.
2. Coast and Bay Abstracts, Vol. 6, 175.
3. *Ibid.*, 264.
4. *Ibid.*, 295.
5. *Ibid.*, 357. Madras Public Proceedings, 1760, 180.
6. Madras Public Proceedings 1760, 180-1. The previously accepted version of this story, based upon Symes, *op. cit.*, 43, gives the arrest of Whitehill as having taken place at Rangoon, whence he is said to have been "sent up in close confinement to Prome." Whitehill's own report of the affair is entirely vague on this point. (Madras Public Proceedings, 1760, 243-4). The above account is based upon the report of Thomas Hobbes, second officer of the *Lively*, who inspires confidence by giving a definite date to every fact mentioned.

but were soon afterwards released and allowed to return to Rangoon. They were officially informed that they and the crews of the two captured vessels were detained as royal slaves, and would be allowed one basket of paddy a month each. The royal anger against Whitehill and Dawson, however, soon abated. They were permitted to ransom themselves for the sum of 83 viss of silver each. Whitehill was destitute of all means: his ransom, equal to 2760 pagodas of Madras currency, was advanced by an obliging Dutch captain[1]. He was lucky to have escaped with his life. The remainder of the ships' companies, having no means of raising any ransom money, and deserted by their employers, continued under restraint at Rangoon in a most miserable plight.

Not long afterwards the number of English prisoners at Rangoon was augmented from another source. On September 1st, 1759 Captain William Henry Southby in the snow *Victoria* left Calcutta to take charge of the abandoned Negrais factory. The Bengal Council felt that it was expedient to retain some more effective possession of the place, but, on account of the French war, could not make up its mind as to its future policy in Burma. Pending some decision in this matter therefore Southby was instructed to assume charge of the timber and shipping materials collected at Negrais, but to commit the Company to no further trading operations whatever[2].

In the Bay of Bengal the *Victoria* ran into a heavy storm. She arrived at Negrais on October 4th, in a badly shattered condition, having lost both main mast and maintop mast. In the harbour she found an East Indiaman, the *Shaftesbury*, which had called in for provisions and water. That evening Captain Southby went ashore to take over from Lieutenant Hope, the officiating head of the station. Almost at the same time three Burmese war-boats, carrying about 50 men all told, drew up at the settlement, and a Burmese official with his suite stepped on to the landing stage. It proved to be the Portuguese Antonio, who announced that he was now governor of Bassein, and as such was the bearer of a letter to the head of the English settlement from King Alaungpaya. This, he said, he would deliver with due ceremonial on the following day. On the next morning therefore Antonio delivered the royal missive. After the ceremony he was entertained to dinner by Southby and Hope. It was agreed that he should return on the following morning for the official reply, which was to be forwarded to the King together with a present of ten muskets, six blunderbusses, a pair of looking glasses and

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1. Madras Public Proceedings, 1760, 174-5. On Whitehill's return to Madras the Council advanced him his ransom money on a bond payable in six months at 8 per cent. " for making good to the Dutch Captain.....as otherwise it might appear a reflection on the English nation to suffer a stranger to sustain a loss in performing so humane and generous an act towards an English subject." (*Ibid.*, 1760, 175)

2. Coast and Bay Abstracts, Vol. 6, 324, 336. Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 343, Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 95, 547.

twelve decanters. Meanwhile the disembarkation of baggage and stores from the *Victoria* was proceeding, and the *Shaftesbury* was standing by in order to lend the assistance of its boats.

On the morning of the 6th, Antonio arrived early at Fort House, the temporary logwood structure which served as the settlement's head-quarters. As the Burmese translation of the official reply to the King was not yet completed, he was invited to remain for dinner, which was to be taken at noon. Shortly before the meal was to commence, Southby, Hope and one of the assistants, Robertson by name, together with Antonio and the Burmese officers of his suite, were gathered in the large upper room, that served as a combined dining hall and reception room, super-vising the final arrangements regarding handing over the letter and pre-sents. Just as the servants were bringing up the meal, Southby sent Robertson to the godowns below to bring up the decanters, which formed the last item of the present. A few moments later at a signal from Antonio the Burmese suddenly shut all the doors of the hall, fell upon Southby and Hope and brutally butchered them. At the same moment on the ground floor the soldiers of Antonio's escort, who had surrounded the European guard under the pretence of trading with them, murdered them all. A midshipman from the *Shaftesbury*, who was about to enter the building, when the slaughter began, managed to break away from his attackers, and though wounded in the ribs by a spear, that was thrown at him, ran to the water's edge, where he and the *Shaftesbury's* carpen-ter and a number of Indians were rescued by the East Indiaman's pinnace. A few others also escaped on the *Shaftesbury's* longboat, which had just landed some of Southby's baggage from the *Victoria*.

Robertson and three soldiers in the godown beneath the hall, hearing the commotion and shrieks above, ran to the window and saw Antonio running for all he was worth towards the jungle. Just then another European assistant, named Briggs, badly wounded from several stab wounds, staggered into the godown. Realising what was afoot, they managed to close all the doors and windows before they could be attacked. Then climbing up through a trap-door they got into a room adjoining that in which Southby and Hope had been murdered. Peering through a keyhole they saw the murderers sitting on the couches with their feet upon the bodies of the slain.

Meanwhile down below and in the settlement the ghastly business went on. The Burmese of Antonio's escort were reinforced by a large party, previously concealed in the jungle, under the French half-cast, Lavine, whom Bruno had left as a hostage with Alaungpaya at Rangoon in 1755. Every man, woman and child they could lay their hands on—there was a large number of Indian labourers and servants attached to the fort—was killed. Then under Lavine's directions they turned the nine guns of the fort upon the *Shaftesbury*, which lay much nearer in than the *Victoria*. There was no lack of ammunition, as 25 chests of powder,

brought by Southby for the defence of the settlement, had been landed from the *Victoria*, only that morning. The Burmese firing too was well directed. The *Shaftesbury's* second mate, Burroughs, and a seaman were killed, and her gunner badly wounded. She also sustained a good deal of damage to her rigging and hull. But she returned the fire gamely, and apparently prevented the Burmese from attacking in their war-boats either herself or the much disabled *Victoria*. The firing continued all through the night and well into the next morning, while the two ships stood to in order to pick up refugees. [1]

We left Robertson, Briggs and their three companions hiding in an upper room of the fort. Late in the afternoon the Burmese in the course of plundering the building discovered them and demanded admittance. They were promised their lives if they would surrender without resistance. It was their only hope. Accordingly they opened the door. Their captors tightly pinioned them and ordered them to go down the ladder which led from the hall to the godowns beneath. Briggs, however, in his desperately wounded condition could not negotiate the ladder. Thereupon one of his guards coldbloodedly knocked him from the top to the ground below, a drop of 14 feet, and as he struggled to rise another ran him through with a lance. Robertson and the rest were hurried off in the dusk to the war-boats, where Antonio took charge of them, unloosened their bonds and treated them with unexpected clemency. A start was at once made for Rangoon, and there they found themselves in the same sort of captivity as the ships' crews seized in the previous August.

On the morning after the massacre the captains of the *Shaftesbury* and the *Victoria*, believing that all the Europeans in the settlement had been murdered and that no more refugees could be saved, left the harbour with the ebb tide and took their vessels six miles out to sea. There the *Shaftesbury* stood by for three days to assist her disabled companion from her own stores with the task of remasting and rerigging. On the 10th of October she sailed away to bear news of the disaster to Madras. [2] The *Victoria*, in urgent need of water and ballast, made for Diamond Island, where she anchored on October 14th.

Two days later Captain Alves, seeing an English vessel about to enter Negrais harbour, sent a canoe to warn her of what had taken place. It turned out to be the *Helen*, bound from Calcutta to the Straits of Malacca, which had put in for a supply of fresh water. That night a great blaze was observed on shore, and it became evident that the Burmese were burning the settlement preparatory to evacuating it. The

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1. The *Shaftesbury* collected 47 men and 2 women, the *Victoria* 13 men, 2 women and a child. (Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 347.)

2. Coast and Bay Abstracts, Vol. 6, 356.

next morning the Burmese forces were seen to leave the place and proceed with all haste up stream in their war-borts. After they had disappeared, Alves and Miller, the *Helen's* captain, went together to the abandoned factory. There a dreadful spectacle met their gaze, "one of the most shocking sights I ever beheld," wrote Alves in his description of it.[1] The bodies of the slain lay scattered about in an advanced state of putrifaction and recognisable only by their clothing. Everything of any value capable of being carried away had been looted. Then everything that would burn had been destroyed, buildings, gun carriages, timber and a schooner and long boat belonging to the Company, which were under repair. The sudden appearance of 15 to 20 large Burmese war-boats caused the searchers to beat a hasty retreat to Diamond Island. Soon afterwards Alves set sail on his return journey to Calcutta, whither he arrived on November 10th, 1759.[2]

To what causes may we attribute this utterly unexpected act of treachery? Robertson, writing from his captivity at Rangoon to urge the Bengal Council to take steps towards the release of himself and his fellow prisoners, stated that when he was brought before Alaungpaya, "his Majesty observed to me, that he had wrote a Letter to the King of England, on a Plate of Solid Gold, the Seal and Address of which was ornamented with precious stones to a Considerable Value, some of them as big as a Beetle nut (one he values here, as I am told, at 2 or 3 Vize of Silver, which is about 3000 Rupees) as also other letters and presents for Governour Clive and Governour Pigot, all which was delivered to the Chief of Negrais to be delivered by him; and that he his Majesty was to this day without any Answer, notwithstanding some of these Letters had been gone three years. Therefore his Majesty could put no other Construction on it than the English and the Company looked on him and his People as Fools. These are the Reasons he gives for taking the Negrais, as also two Vessells that I hope yours [*sic*] Honours have heard of are detained here by his order; only his Majesty adds that Mr. Whitehill, who is supra cargo of one of them, fought against him at Pegu, and that he has a Right to lay hold of his Enemys wherever he finds

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1 Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 349.

2 Coast and Bay Abstracts, Vol. 6, 347. Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 350. The sources of the story of the massacre given above are (*a*) Alves's "Account of the Settlement of Negrais being cut out off" in Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 343-350, (*b*) the stories told by Antonio himself and Robertson to Alves during his mission to Ava in 1760 and recorded by him in his Journal, *Ibid.*, I, 355-9, (*c*) Alves's letter of October 9th, 1759 conveyed to Madras by the *Shaftesbury*, a copy of which is now to be found at the India Office in Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 95, 547-9, and (*d*) a letter from James Robertson to the Council of Fort William, Bengal, dated Dagon, 23rd November 1759, in Madras Public Proceedings, 1760, 178-180. The above account differs in certain details from the previously accepted version in Symes's Embassy to Ava, 45-8. This is due to the light thrown upon the episode by (*d*) to which Symes did not have access.

them ; His Majesty is so Enraged at him that he demands no less than fifteen hundred Musketts for his Ransom." [1]

A copy of this letter was sent by the Bengal Council to Madras, whither it arrived on March 28th, 1760, shortly after John Whitehill's return. [2] The Madras Council at once instituted an enquiry into the allegations contained in it, and also in a letter of similar tenor, recently received from the Armenian Gregory at Rangoon, wherein it was further stated that the Negrais chiefs had aided Talaing rebels against Alaungpaya. [3] Copies of these letters were accordingly forwarded to Henry Brooke at Wandewash, and to Thomas Newton, then in Madras, with a request for their explanations. Newton replied denying in forcible language all knowledge of the facts alleged, and ascribing the massacre to the " vile dispositions " of the Burmese. [4] Henry Brooke on the other hand submitted in exculpation of himself a detailed exposition of Anglo-Burmese relations during his term of office at Negrais.[5] He expressed his strong opinion that the behaviour of the *Arcot* and the other English ships at Rangoon in 1755 constituted the chief cause of Alaungpaya's resentment against the Company, and he pertinently drew the Council's attention to the fact that " Mr. Whitehill " was " one of those gentlemen who acted against the Burmahs at Dagoon. "

Presumably as a result of the blame imputed to Whitehill in this letter we find the Madras Council on May 13th, 1760, considering a long screed from him and a petition from Captain Dawson of the *Lively* asking for steps to be instituted towards securing redress for the injuries, which they had received by Alaungpaya's seizure of their ship.[6] Whitehill admitted that the conduct of the English ships at Rangoon was a cause of the " King's disgusts, " but contended that the fact that he was only a passenger on the *Arcot* might be taken to be " a sufficient exculpation of me for any measures, however unjustifiable, which might have been taken by the master of her. " The real cause of all the trouble, he averred, was that the late chief of Negrais had supplied the Talaings with arms and ammunition. He also cleverly drew a red herring across the trail by a reference to the unacknowleged letter from Alaungpaya to the King of England, which Robertson had mentioned as a factor in the case. But he embellished the story in the process. In his version it was not a letter on gold leaf decorated with rubies, but a stone valued at 300 viss of silver, that Alaungpaya had sent to the " late Chief " of Negrais together with a letter for transmission to George II.

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1. Referred to in the preceding note under (*d.*)
2. Madras Public Proceedings, 1760, 173-4.
3. *Ibid.*, 174-5.
4. *Ibid.*, 203-4.
5. *Ibid.*, 199-203.
6. *Ibid.*, 238-244.

His references to the "late Chief" were probably purposely vague. He avoided mentioning any names. Presumably the former reference was to Hope, and the latter to Newton. But as Whitehill had served at Negrais under neither of these men, and was desperately making allegations either entirely fabricated by himself or at best founded upon mere hearsay, he was obliged to take refuge in vague hints. His ruby story, however, served its purpose. It created the necessary diversion. Thomas Newton was well known to possess a large Burma ruby. He was therefore summoned before the Council to answer the imputation. [1] He admitted that he had received the royal letter in question, but without any such jewel as was alleged to have accompanied it. He produced his own ruby, which he said he had bought from a Burman. The Council on examining the stone decided that it was not "of a quality fit for a present to the King of England."[2] And as Whitehill, who was also present at the examination, could bring forward no proof in support of his statement, Newton was entirely exonerated, and beyond reporting the matter home, the Madras Council did nothing further. The Directors, however, were not so easily satisfied, and suggested that the question of the origin of Newton's ruby together with that of the part played by Whitehill in the affair of the *Arcot* should receive further investigation.[3]

It is very doubtful if the ruby story had any basis in fact. There were, it is true, long and suspicious delays between the date when the royal letter was entrusted by Alaungpaya to Dyer and Anderson (April 1756) and the date of its despatch to England from Madras (June 1757). [4] But against that has to be set the all-important fact that the royal order directing the engraving of the letter does not mention rubies either by way of decoration or as a present to accompany it. The strong probability is that Alaungpaya invented the rubies in order all the better to impress Robertson and the other English prisoners at Rangoon with the righteousness of his indignation against the Company. Little did he realise how insignificant he appeared in the eyes of the gentlemen of Leadenhall Street, whose attention was focussed upon the Indian arena. Nevertheless the lack of imagination displayed by those gentlemen in handling the matter obviously contributed its share to the accumulation of annoyances which brought about the massacre.

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1. *Ibid.*, 238.
2. *Ibid.*, 254.
3. See Appendix II.
4. In this connection the following facts are interesting. The Royal letter, dated April 1756, was probably received at Negrais not later than June or July of that year. Captain Howes was then Chief, with Newton as his second-in-command. Howes died at the beginning of September 1756 while Newton was at Bassein. Presumably at the time of Howes's death the letter had not been forwarded to Madras, since (*a*) Newton admitted receiving it and (*b*) Howes's last letter to Madras is dated May 10th. The letter was not forwarded from Madras to England until June 6th. 1757. I can find no reference to the date of the receipt of the letter by Madras from Negrais.

The most valuable light upon the causes of this tragedy, however, is shed by Captain Alves in his journal of his embassy to the Burmese Court in 1760, which forms the subject of our last chapter.[1] During the course of his journey to the capital Alves had an interview with Antonio, who appeared extremely anxious to whitewash the part that he had played in the affair. His story was that Hope on the occasion of the last Talaing rising had given away four or five muskets with some powder, shot and provisions to rebels. Gregory, the Armenian, coming to hear of this, had reported it to the King, taking care to multiply the number of muskets by no less a figure than one hundred. He had further warned the King that " the English were a very dangerous people, and if not, prevented in time, he (the King) would find, would act in the same manner as they had in Bengal and on the Coast ; where the first settlements were made in the same manner as at Negraise, but that, by degrees they had fortified themselves, and brought men, and all manner of military stores, in, and under various pretences, till they thought they were strong enough, then they pulled off the mask, and made kings whom they pleased, and levied all the revenues of the country at discretion."[2] And the Armenian had gone so far as to represent that the Chiefs of Negrais made a practice of preventing merchant vessels from going up to Bassein, thereby defrauding the King of customs.

Influenced by these arguments—according to Antonio's story—the King ordered the destruction of the settlement, and had sent the French Eurasian, Lavine, to carry out the design. Lavine had been instructed to take Antonio with him as interpreter, and in order to hoax the English, a royal letter had been entrusted to Antonio for delivery at Negrais. Under cover of this bogus mission the settlement was to be surprised and captured ; but Lavine was ordered to save alive as many as possible of his prisoners, in order that they might be held to ransom. Only such as resisted were to be killed.

The story rings true. It was confirmed—independently—by Mingyi Narataw, the Viceroy of Pegu, whom Alves met at Rangoon. There is also strong circumstantial evidence against Gregory. We have already seen him on an earlier occasion doing his utmost to wreck the negotiations between Alaungpaya and Captain George Baker. He had great opportunities for influencing the King's mind. He combined the office of " sea-customer " [3] at Rangoon with a somewhat vague one, which attached him fairly closely to the royal person. And he was admittedly the King's chief adviser in all dealings with foreigners. [4]

The causes of the massacre may therefore be briefly summed up. The conduct of Jackson and Whitehill at Dagon in 1755 had implanted

1. Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 351-398.
2. *Ibid*, I, 358-9.
3. Called by foreigners 'Shabander', by the Burmese 'Akawun.'
4. Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 352.

in Alaungpaya's mind an ineradicable distrust of the British. To this must be added his resentment at not receiving a reply to his magnificent gesture to the King of England. The Talaing revolt, which caused his hasty return from Manipur, made him intensely angry, and when Gregory poured into his ears the greatly exaggerated story of Hope furnishing arms and supplies to a few rebels, he resolved upon drastic measures.

But also the news of the British successes against the French in Bengal and on the Carnatic Coast had no small effect upon this decision. He feared lest a fortified post at Negrais might be used for the extension of English power in Burma in the same way as Gregory assured him Fort St. George and Fort William had been in India. He had failed by diplomatic means to persuade the English to transfer their factory to Bassein, where they could be more closely supervised. Hence the danger spot must be wiped out.

But it would appear that the actual massacre, which took place, was not intended by the King. The vitriolic hatred of the English cherished by Lavine caused the real plan to go astray in the operation.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MISSION OF CAPTAIN ALVES AND THE SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS.

Upon receiving from Captain Alves the story of the Negrais massacre the Bengal Council had to decide upon some line of action to be taken regarding the affair. The motives influencing its decision have been well summed up by Symes.[1] Revenge was out of the question. The British position in India was too weak to admit of any such measures. Equally also an irreconcilable breach with the court of Ava must be avoided as likely to open the door for a renewal of French influence in Burma. However uninviting the prospects of a settled trade might be, these was no overlooking the fact that Burmese ports offered peculiar advantages to the French for attacks upon British trade and communications in the Bay of Bengal. Further there were British prisoners at Rangoon for whose liberation some effort must be made. But it must be made with as little compromise to the Company's prestige as possible—especially in view of the fact that the Company's complete withdrawal from Burma had long been ordered, and no change of policy in this connection was, or could be, contemplated. It was therefore decided to send Captain Alves upon a mission to Alaungpaya seeking the restoration of confiscated British property and the release of all British prisoners in Burma. But for the reasons already specified and also because there was suspicion that the behaviour of the British in Burma

1. *Op. cit.*, 56-7.

had been partly responsible for the severity of their treatment, John Zephaniah Holwell, Clive's successor at Calcutta, addressed the King in terms of studied moderation.

Alves was despatched from Bengal late in February 1760 with instructions to proceed first to Madras in order to secure the joint action of the Fort St. George Council in his mission. There, as we have seen, the letters he brought from Robertson and Gregory caused so strong a suspicion of misconduct in Burma on the part of its own servants, that the Council detained Alves until replies had been received from Brooke and Newton to the charges specified in those missives. On May 10th he sailed for Burma, with a letter from George Pigot, which, in addition to reiterating Holwell's requests, asked for the punishment of the Negrais murderers. The Madras Council had decided that the extent of its servants' culpability in regard to the affair was negligible.

Uncertain as to the kind of reception he might meet with by proceeding direct to Burma, Alves took elaborate precautions against a renewal of his previous experiences at Negrais. Directing his course to the Nicobars, where he knew he would meet with a Dutch ship from Negapatam loading up with the usual cargo of cocoanuts for Rangoon, he forwarded by her a letter and present to the Amenian Gregory at Rangoon. He was, of course, ignorant as yet of the part played by this man in bringing about the massacre; and Whitehill and Dawson had advised him to deal with Gregory as one possessing considerable influence with the King.

In his letter he announced the nature of his mission, requested that the necessary boats should be sent to Negrais for the reception of the royal present, and intimated that he would anchor off Diamond island until be received a signal from Negrais announcing the arrival of the boats. On June 5th, he reached Diamond Island. The south-west monsoon was blowing so dangerously, however, that he soon had to take shelter behind Cape Negrais, about three miles from the harbour of the ruined settlement on the island. Thence he was able get in touch with a chokey[1] a short way up the river, and through the good offices of its headman sent his first officer up to Bassein with a message to Antonio. That worthy lost no time in coming down to the chokey to meet Alves. In an interview he strove to impress upon the latter his own cordiality towards the British, and explained his own part in the massacre as that of an unwilling tool. As we have already seen above he attributed the main causes of the tragedy to the machinations of Gregory and the enmity of Lavine against the British. He insisted that in order to allay suspicion Alves must bring his ship up to Bassein, and there await royal orders.

The advice seemed good. The ship was leaky and needed beaching for repairs. So to Bassein went the *Victoria*, arriving on June 28th, to

1. Burmese guard house or police post.

find that Antonio had just received a letter from Mingyi Nawrahta, the Viceroy of Pegu, notifying him of the expected arrival of the ship at Negrais, and strictly enjoining upon him the duty of securing the mission from molestation. Not a word from Gregory: but Alves learnt that immediately on receipt of his letter the Armenian had left Rangoon in haste to be the first to bear to the King the news of the mission's approach to his shores. In the meantime therefore, while awaiting orders from the Golden Feet, Alves got on with the work of beaching and caulking his vessel.

On July 7th came orders from Mingyi Mawrahta for Antonio and the Envoy to repair to Rangoon to hand over the official letters and presents so that they might be forwarded to the King. Owing to some little scheme of Antonio's—who apparently was not anxious to leave his post, rumours of Alaungpaya's death having filtered through—the necessary transport could not be obtained. Three weeks went by. Then on July 28th, came another despatch boat from the Mingyi ordering the Envoy to proceed to Rangoon immediately, and the Burmese officials, who had come up with the message, boarded the *Victoria* and in the name of the King of Burma forcibly took possession of her arms. Antonio at once produced a boat, but he passed on to Alves the disquieting news that Alaungpaya had died some weeks before,[1] and that Upper Burma was in the throes of civil war. Naungdawgyi, the late monarch's eldest son, it appeared, had been proclaimed king by the army, just returned from its inglorious expedition to Siam, but had fallen foul of one of the most popular commanders, who with 12,000 of the best troops had turned *minlaung*[2] and was in possession of the city of Ava. In utter perplexity as to what course to adopt, Alves accepted Antonio's advice to deliver up the present to the Mingyi. Whatever happened, he could plead that it had been taken from him by force, and his compliance, Anthony suggested, might cause the immediate liberation of such English prisoners as were at Rangoon. He accordingly set out for Rangoon and on August 5th handed over the royal present to the Viceroy.

He acted wisely. The Mingyi, himself a member of the royal family, was loyal to Naungdawgyi, and gave Alves a more reassuring account of the situation. The rebel general, he said, had been defeated by the royal forces, and was now closely besieged in Ava. He promised to send the present up stream to await Alves at the junction of the Irrawaddy with the Bassein river.[1] Meanwhile the Envoy, who, he insisted, must personally present the official letters to the King; was to return to Bassein, make arrangements for his absence up country, and then proceed to the spot where the boat containing the present would await him. He held out sanguine hopes of the release of all the prisoners, and acceded to Alves's

1. He died on May 15th, 1760.
2. Pretender to the throne.

request that Robertson, the sole European prisoner then at Rangoon, should be provisionally released. The rest, with Whitehill's ship, had been impressed into Alaungpaya's expedition against Siam, and had not yet returned. The Mingyi corroborated Antonio's statements regarding the responsibility of Gregory and Lavine for the Negrais massacre. He also informed Alves that he himself had at first been entrusted with the unpleasant task of destroying the settlement.

He had failed to carry it out, he said, because he was too much abashed by the friendly reception he met with at the hands of Hope, when he visited the island for that purpose. As the price of his disobedience he had been put in irons and pegged out in the sun with three logs of timber across his body, one at the throat, one across his stomach and the other over his thighs; and he had not yet recovered from the shock.

A few days later, having provided himself with an interpreter in preparation for his journey to Naungdawgyi's camp, Alves together with the liberated Negrais writer, Robertson, returned to Bassein. Thither, shortly afterwards, came Gregory announcing that he brought the English translation of a letter from the King, the bearer of the Burmese version of which would arrive in a day or two. A Burmese officer, however, warned Alves to have an independent translation made of the original, when it arrived. This he did. It proved to be a royal order, crouched in friendly terms, directing Alves to proceed to the august presence. On comparing it with Gregory's version, he found that the Armenian had interpolated a number of passages, purporting to give himself special authority for dealing with matters affecting the Company's interest in Burma, and alleging that he had been soliciting Robertson's release. He discovered later that Gregory had informed the King that the mission had come with the object of resettling at Negrais and had bought with it three ships and great quantities of stores for that purpose.

On August 22nd, accompanied by Antonio and Gregory, Alves set out for the royal camp. The journey was an unpleasant one. At every chokey the boats were searched ostensibly for contraband, and although Antonio obviously did his best to save the envoy trouble, his progress up stream cost him heavily in douceurs. The royal present, he found, had been hurried on ahead of him, on account of the disturbed state of the country; and the officers, who had brought the royal order to Bassein, even seized his private merchandise, and conveyed it with all haste to Court. One interesting item of news he gleaned on his way up stream: Lavine had been killed in an assault upon Ava.

On September 22nd Alves arrived at Sagaing to find Naungdawgyi's headquarters there. On the following morning he was admitted to the royal presence and made formal delivery of his letters. When these had been translated, he was summoned to discuss personally with the King

the various points raised. His Majesty opened the conference with the statement that "he was surprised to think how the Governor of Madras, as he said in his letter, could have the face to demand any satisfaction, which he would not give; for that he looked upon all that were killed at Negraise, whether guilty or innocent, as born to die there, and in that manner; and that he could never give himself any trouble to enquire farther about the affair; his soldiers were not obliged to know who were guilty, or who were not, neither did he expect they would enquire, but, in such cases, generally killed men, women, or child as they pleased; for instance says he, as soon as ever they get into Ava, I have given them orders to spare nothing, that has life; and to burn, kill and destroy everything in it; though I know that Nittoon (meaning the general) and the soldiers are to blame; as for these People, that were not killed, you may take them with you to the Coast; the timbers, you may also have, but as your Governors at Negraise, and the masters of ships, that were seized, were the offenders, they must stand to the loss; for restitution I will make none."[1]

In answer to Alves's question regarding the cause of the massacre the King repeated the old charge that Hope had supplied the rebellious Talaings with arms, ammunition and provisions. He also added an obviously improvised one to the effect that Hope had been in league with the Talaings to the extent of receiving one half of the plunder of all Burmese boats captured by them. As to the murder of Southby and the new comers, against whom no charges of any kind could be made, his Majesty laughingly assured the envoy that they were fated to die thus, "for", said he, "I suppose you have seen, that, in this country, in the wet season, there grows so much long useless grass and weeds, in the fields, that in the dry season we are forced to burn them, to clear the ground; sometimes it happens, there is some useful herbs among these weeds and grass, which as they cannot be distinguished easily, are burned along with them; so it happened to be the new Governor's lot."

But although scouting all ideas of reparation, the King was evidently extremely anxious for the Company to maintain a station in his country. He was puzzled and rather piqued to find no reference to the subject in the letters from the Governors of Bengal and Madras. If they did not intend to re-establish a settlement in Burma, he said, then their expressions of good will must be regarded as a blind, under cover of which the mission was sent with some ulterior object. He would give the Company as much land as it wanted at Bassein, he affirmed, but there must be no settlement at Negrais. So insistent was he in the matter that Alves, forseeing the complete rupture of the negotiations, unless the point were yielded, promised that although he himself must obey his instructions to return to India, nevertheless, if the King would

1. Dalrymple, *Op. cit.*, I, 373-4,

release all the Englishmen in Burma, two of them should be left at Bassein to look after the Company's property there, until "the Honourable the Governors of Bengal and Madras signified their pleasure." While on this subject the King stressed his great need of warlike stores: this apparently was his main reason for desiring the re-establishment of the Company in his dominions. When Alves explained that owing to the war with the French the English in India had no arms and ammunition to spare, the King refused to be put off. He would give the Company "as much ground, or anything else they wanted, in his dominions," he airily promised, in return for supplies of these much-desired commodities; and he pressed Alves personally to engage on behalf of the Company to furnish him with them. The embarrassed envoy explained that he had no power to make such an engagement, but that the King might make what representations he pleased on the subject to the Governors of Bengal and Madras.

Throughout the interview the King and his Counsellors were decidedly ill at ease at finding in the official letters no mention of any plan for re-establishment in Burma. Two days later Alves was asked to go in person and show them his original instructions, so that they might be compared with the letters. There followed a pretty scene. The instructions, of course, tallied in every point with the letters. When this was made clear to the King, in angry tones he asked Gregory, who was interpreting, where were the three ships laden with stores and provisions, the arrival of which for the resettlement of Negrais he had announced. No reply came from the crouching Armenian. Then the King asked Alves for the letter Gregory had delivered to him at Bassein, passing it off as a translation of the royal summons to Court. Thereupon the envoy handed over a Burmese translation of the damning missive that he had taken the precaution of having had made during his journey up. The truth of the translation was warranted by both Antonio and the Burmese officer, who had warned Alves regarding Gregory at Bassein. At this the full storm of the royal anger broke forth. Gregory was so expert in making himself a prince that he would shortly be assuming the title of of King, said the outraged monarch. Why did he not go to his comrade across the river? the King jeered, referring to the rebel general in Ava. He was forbidden the Court in future, and, as he hesitated to leave the audience chamber, was seized upon by the royal attendants and dragged ignominiously out of the palace.

The envoy's difficulties, however were by no means ended with the discomfiture of this clumsy intriguer. By all manner of frivolous pretences the ministers continued to keep him waiting day after day for the royal reply to his official letters and the order for the release of the English prisoners. The reason for this, he found, was twofold. On account of the fact that the company made no proposal to re-establish a station in Burma, he was suspected of being a spy. Warned of this in the nick of

time he managed to destoy his diary just before the royal officials pounced down upon his belongings, searched them, and carried off his papers to the palace. He discovered also that until he made a considerable present to each of the eight chief Ministers, the royal letters and orders would not materialize. During this period of enforced waiting he made what enquiries he could regarding the English prisoners. He could trace only five of them: Robertson and Lewis from Negrais, Helass and Lee of a seized vessel, the *Fame*, and Richard Battle of Whitehill's ship. The rest had all perished in Alaungpaya's Siam expedition.

On September 27th, shortly before the Burmese festival of Thadingyut, all the chief officers of state assembled at the palace, as was customary, to pay their respects to the golden feet. Alves deemed it wise to join the throng. The King on seeing him was so gratified that he offered to make him a present of whatever he might ask. Remembering to have seen at Rangoon three Dutch prisoners—a surgeon and two soldiers—belonging to a Dutch settlement in Siam that had been destroyed by the recent Burmese expedition, Alves asked to be allowed to take them back to Bengal with him. His request was at once granted and orders for their release made out. Unfortunately his humane intentions were thwarted. On returning to Rangoon he found that two of the Dutchmen were dead and the third had been sent on a Burmese ship to the Nicobars. In the meantime also, behind the envoy's back, a renegade Duchman at Sagaing had caused the revocation of the order for release by representing that the three prisoners were experts in the manufacture of gunpowder.

At last on October 9th, Alves carried out the necessary palm-greasing, visiting personally all the officials for whom he had to provide perquisites. On the following day therefore all his official documents were presented to him, and together with Antonio he started on his return journey to Bassein. It had been arranged that Robertson and Helass should take charge of the Company's effects at Bassein until the Governors of Bengal and Madras decided otherwise. Royal orders to this effect were entrusted to the envoy along with those for the release of the five English prisoners. He carried also letters to the Governors of Bengal and Madras from the King and from the four Wungyis of the Hlutdaw collectively, all couched in exactly the same magniloquent terms.

The journey down stream was not without incident. Three days after setting out from Sagaing Alves met Lewis and Lee being taken under Escort to assist in the siege of Ava. The officer in charge of them refused to take any notice of the order for their release, because it was addressed to the Viceroy of Pegu "*who had not seen it*"! So Alves had to despatch his interpreter back to Sagaing with urgent appeals to three of the most influencial men about the King, and, of course, the usual presents. Meanwhile he himself proceeded slowly on towards Prome intending to wait there for the interpreter, and, as he hoped, the liberated

men. From Prome he had decided to proceed first to Rangoon, so as to make sure that the remaining prisoners were not spirited away before he could claim them. On October 20th, Prome was reached. After a three days' wait the anxious envoy was cheered by the sight of his interpreter returning along with Lewis and Lee. He had out-distanced the boat carrying them to Sagaing, and there had procured an order, on the strength of which he had met them in the river and had transferred them to his own boat.

At Prome Antonio fell sick. This caused a further delay of three days, since his name was included with that of Alves on the same chokey passport, which the wily Portuguese took the precaution of keeping in his own hands. On the morning of October 26th, the impatient envoy prevailed upon Antonio to make a start. In the evening, as they were nearing Myanaung, the town was seen to be in flames. From villagers nearby they learnt that its Governor with three others, one of whom had the rank of General, had fled the court, and given the signal for revolt by burning his town and betaking himself to the jungle. It was rumoured also that one of the King's brothers had rebelled at Sagaing itself. The sudden development of a situation fraught with such unpredictable potentialities led Alves to abandon his plan of going first to Rangoon and to push on towards Bassein with all haste. By offering a special reward to his boatmen he managed to complete his journey by the 28th, and at once began to have the ship made ready for departure. A trip up to Kyaukchaungyi in quest of rice and provisions for the return voyage to Bengal furnished him with the welcome information that the revolt was not spreading. He decided therefore to hire a boat and bring away the remaining two Englishmen, Helass and Battle, from Rangoon, while the *Victoria* was being loaded with provisions, and as much of the Company's timber as she could carry.

On his arrival at Rangoon on November 4th, the Viceroy straightway handed over the two Englishmen, but requested Alves to remain there a few days until he had had letters prepared for transmission from himself to the Governors of Bengal and Madras. While waiting there Alves, was asked by the Viceroy to interrogate a certain Portuguese prisoner captured by the Burmese at Mergui, which port he had entered in a Malay prow without papers, alleging that they had all been burnt in an attack by Malays as he was on his way into the straits of Malacca from Padang on the western coast of Sumatra. He had with him on board when captured "a very handsome sett of silver handled knives and forks, with table and tea spoons, marked with a crest of a hart's head, about 4000 dollars in specie, also some gold, several suits of laced cloaths, with linnen etc. in proportion, several English musquets and other things, the shirts were marked TC. and some PS. There was also several English books, on some of which was wrote the names Ricksby, and on others Charles Mears, 1759, none of which he could read, nor anybody else he had on boards, he had also a Hadley's Quadrant, and a set of French

charts, the uses of which he knew not" [1] To Alves he confessed that his name was Joseph de Cruz, but that he went by the name of Jansy. He had been gunner on an English sloop scouting for French ships off the coast of Sumatra. Off Pulo Nias the crew under his leadership had murdered their officers. Then after the booty had been divided between himself, the serang and tindal, and each had stored his portion on Malay prows captured among the islands off Acheen Head, the sloop had been sunk, and he is in his prow had made off for Junkceylon. It was useless for Alves to demand that Jansy should be handed over to him for trial at Calcutta. The Viceroy was adamant that nothing could be done until the matter had been reported to the King. But he promised to keep Jansy in custody until he heard from the Governor of either Bengal or Madras, and in his official letters entrusted to Alves he wrote a brief account of the man. Nothing came of Alves's attempt to bring the murderer to justice. Soon afterwards he was taken into the royal service, and thirty-five years later, when Captain Michael Symes arrived in Rangoon on his well-known mission from Sir John Shore to King Bodawpaya, Jansy held the office of collector of customs there. [2] He figures prominently in the reports of the English missions of this later period.

One other incident of note marked Alves's stay in Rangoon. On November 7th, Gregory turned up with a royal letter appointing him "sea-customer" at Bassein and authorising him to recruit a hundred families at Rangoon for the work of rebuilding the former place, which had been almost destroyed during the Talaing wars. The Viceroy, however, refused to take any notice of the royal mandate—at least while Alves was in Rangoon. One is tempted to wonder whether Gregory's precipitate exit from the audience chamber at Sagaing was stage-managed.

On November 9th, Alves with Helass and Battle left Rangoon for Bassein. Thirteen days later the *Victoria* began her return voyage to Bengal leaving behind James Robertson and John Helass in change of such property of the Company as was stored at Bassein. Late in December Alves reached Calcutta whence he at once forwarded to Governor George Pigot at Madras the letters addressed to him from King Naungdawgyi and the various Burmese officials together with a copy of his journal. These were "read" at the Madras Council's consultation of 27th January 1761 and were ordered to be circulated "for the perusal of the several members."[3] The letter from "the most high and mighty King of all Kings,"[4] after a reference to Hope's alleged conduct as the cause of the Negrais massacre, announced that Alaungpaya, his father, "sometime since, being wearied of this world, went to govern a better," and that he himself, on

1. Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 388-9.
2. Symes, Embassy to Ava, 160—161.
3. Madras Public Proceedings, 1761, p. 40.
4. Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 394.

succeeding to the throne, was far from believing that the Governors of Bengal and Madras had approved of the treacherous actions of their servants at Negrais. He was willing therefore to grant to the Company the release of the Negrais prisoners, a price of ground for a settlement at Bassein and liberty to trade on payment of the usual customs duties. He particularly requested the Company to send him 1000 sieves of gunpowder, 10,000 muskets, 500,000 flints, 1000 viss of steel, 1000 viss of iron and a man able to cast iron shot. He further asked for a horse and mare, each four cubits high, and a male and female camel, for breeding purposes; "and for all these things I will give what you desire," the letter concluded. But in his covering letter to George Pigot Alves significantly stated that when he left Rangoon a Dutch ship was there belonging to the Governor of Negapatam, which had despatched to the King the principal part of her cargo, and had been unable to get any payment whatever, while the Rangoon authorities had seized a new cable by force for use in a Burmese vessel. [1]

There the matter ended—save for the withdrawal of Robertson and Helass from Bassein in 1761. Both Madras and Calcutta considered it worse than useless to make any further attempt to obtain redress for injuries. Chastisement was out of the question. So from 1760 until the mission of Symes in 1795 official relations ceased between the East India Company and the "Master of all Good Fortune." With the victory of Wandewash in 1760 the French power in India was ruined. By the Treaty of Paris three years later such stations as were restored to them were to be held as trading posts only. Hence for many years their relations with Burma were likely to cause the Company no worries. Calcutta and Madras moreover might reasonably hope to secure adequate supplies of Burma teak through the normal operations of licensed private traders, without the expense and infinite trouble of maintaining a factory in the country itself.

It is worthy of note that French interest in Burma was soon revived after the English withdrawal. In 1766 a French mission from Pondicherry, headed by one Lefèvre, appeared at the Court of Ava seeking the restoration of such French prisoners as still survived from the capture of the ill-fated Galetée and Fulvy off Syriam ten years earlier, and the renewal of privileges of trade granted in the days of Dupleix.[2] Two years later the mission returned with its object fulfilled, and shortly afterwards a small French establishment for building and repairing ships was opened at Rangoon. This had to be abandoned when the English captured the French stations in India during the war of American Independence. It never had any political significance. At the end of that war, however,

1. *Ibid.*, I, 398.
2. Henri Cordier: Historique Abrégé des Relations de la Grande Bretagne avec la Birmanie, 8-10.

we find Bussy and Suffren revolving in their minds a plan for making a site on the coast of Burma the headquarters of French enterprise in the east. The scheme came to nothing,[1] but later on when Great Britain entered into war with Revolutionary France, French designs upon Burma were a main cause of the revival of British relations with the "Lord of Many White Elephants". Never again, however, did any European power so much as contemplate a settlement on the inhospitable island of Negrais.

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1. Gaudart: Catalogue des Manuscrits des Anciennes Archives de l' Inde Française I, 159.

APPENDIX I.

Letter from John Payne to Mr. [Robert] Wood 4th March 1758, enclosing a copy translation of a letter from the King of Burma to the King of England. [1]

LOTHBURY, 4th MARCH 1758.

Sir,

When I did myself the honour of waiting on Mr. Secretary Pitt and afterwards on yourself it was in order to have acquainted him or you with what probably gave rise to the letter I had to deliver, addressed to his Majesty, from the King of the Burmars, a people who have a large district of land upon the Continent on the side of the Bay of Bengal, opposite to the Coast of Coromandel, and who having been long at war with their neighbours of Pegue, have at length got the better of the latter, and have been some time courting the friendship of the East India Company, who having for object their trade only, and having a few years since made a small settlement at the Negrais, at the extremity of their Country, were desirous of keeping fair with both, but not disposed to engage with either people. Mr. Brooke a Covenant Servant of the Company was ordered to succeed Mr. Hunter, who first settled there, in order to keep possession with as little expence as possible, to prevent the french, who upon our quitting, would probably have taken possession thereof, and had received from the Burman King a Perwannah, or grant, for settling in another part of his Dominions esteemed more healthy, and made some further offers of Amity, which are to be referred to the consideration of our President and Council at Fort St. George. The Company have also received a letter very much to the purport of that addressed to his Majesty, but wrote on paper instead of Plate Gold.

I am &c.
John Payne.

APPENDIX II.

The Newton—Whitehill controversy. The whole enquiry together with the correspondence from Robertson, Hobbs, etc., and the account of the examination of Brooke and Newton, was reported home in the Madras Council's Letter of 31st July 1760. (I. O. Abstracts of Letters Received from Madras, I, 3-6.) This evoked from the Directors the following reply: "It can hardly be imagined that the King of the Burmars should proceed to such a Cruel Extremity as Massacring our People at the Negrais without some Provocation and indeed upon perusal of the Enquirys You made into this affair our Conjecture is not without some foundation however We shall defer giving our final Sentiments thereon until you have agreeable to your assurance sent us the result of the further enquiry into

1 Home Miscellaneous (India Office) Vol. 95, pp. 23-5.

the cause of the said King's Indignation for which and the release of the Captives the *Victoria Snow* was purposely sent, you likewise assured us that the affair of the large Ruby said to have been intended as a Present to his Britannick Majesty from the King of the Burmahs but detained by Captain Newton late Chief of the Negrais should at the same time be cleared up, and indeed in Our Opinion it very much wants it, for it appears upon your Examination of Captain Newton that althô he denies having received a Ruby on that Account yet he was in possession of a large One which he alledges to have bought at the Negrais which may be true for ought We know at present but We cannot help saying there is room for suspicion, under such a circumstance, therefore you ought not to have suffered Capt. Newton to come to England until the Enquiry had been finished upon the return of the said Vessel.

Among other allegations which appear in the course of your Enquiry with respect to the cause of the Resentment of the Burmur King it is said that the People belonging to some of the Country ships had taken part with the Peguers and behaved in a hostile and violent manner towards him, and that Mr. Whitehill a Supra Cargo of one of them was one of those Persons who had acted against the Burmurs. These Allegations We hope have by this time been seriously enquired into and if made out censured as they deserve, for We will never with impunity suffer our Affairs to be embroiled by the Indiscretion and bad Conduct of Private Persons residing in India under Our Protection." (I. O. Despatches to Madras Vol. II, pp. 389-390.)

But by the time this despatch reached Madras nothing further could be done. In February 1760 Newton had resigned the Company's service on account of ill-health (Coast and Bay Abstracts, Vol. 6, 357) and not long afterwards, unable to get a direct passage home, left Madras on a ship homeward bound *via* China, threatening to launch a claim of £20,000 damages against the Company for "unjust and unlawful detention." (Abstracts of Letters Received from Madras, Vol. I, p 6.) Whitehill, notwithstanding Brooke's imputations against him, was reinstated in the Company's service, and re-elected as Alderman and Judge of the Mayor's Court at Madras. (Madras Public Consultations, 1760, 237, 264). In August 1760 he was appointed "Sea Customer in the management of the Boats." (*Ibid.*, 1760, 373). His later career is interesting. William Hickey tells us that when "high in the Company's Civil Service at Madras" he was "much engaged in commercial concerns with the French," and relates the story of how during the war with France (1778-1783) a British merchant vessel, the *Osterley*, was captured off Mauritius by a French privateer of which Whitehill was part owner. (Memoirs, II, 140). He is also said to have had a share in the pickings arising out of the corruption in the revenue collections in the Northern Sarkars, which Shah 'Alam ceded to the Company during Clive's second Governorship of Bengal. (Cambridge History of India, V, 283). In 1780 he succeeded Sir Thomas Rumbold as Governor of Madras, in which position his mismanagement

in face of the danger from Hyder Ali led to the introduction into Parlament of a bill of pains and penalties against him in 1782. The bill, however, was dropped in the following year for want of a quorum to discuss it. (*Ibid.*, V, 193). Professor Dodwell describes him as a man "who in many ways recalls the character of Foote's *Nabob*, Sir Matthew Mite. To mediocre talent he joined a passionate acquisitive temperament, impatient of opposition, incapable of cool judgment." (*Ibid.*, V, 283). What impresses us most is his extraordinary good luck in getting out of tight corners into which his own cupidity and rashness had brought him.